

IN SEARCH OF THE  
FIRST VENETIANS

## STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

*Editorial Board under the auspices of the  
Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York*

Elizabeth M. Tyler, *University of York*  
Julian D. Richards, *University of York*  
Ross Balzaretti, *University of Nottingham*  
Laura Napran (Editorial Assistant)

Previously published volumes in this series are listed at the back of the book.

VOLUME 41

# IN SEARCH OF THE FIRST VENETIANS

Prosopography of Early Medieval Venice

by  
Luigi Andrea Berto



BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Berto, Luigi Andrea author.

In search of the first Venetians : prosopography of early medieval Venice.

-- (Studies in the early Middle Ages ; 41)

1. Venice (Italy)--History--697-1508--Biography.

2. Venice (Italy)--History--To 697--Biography.

I. Title

II. Series

920'.04531--dc23

ISBN-13: 9782503541013

© 2014, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2014/0095/133

ISBN: 978-2-503-54101-3

Printed on acid-free paper

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
The Early Medieval Venetians	35

### Appendices

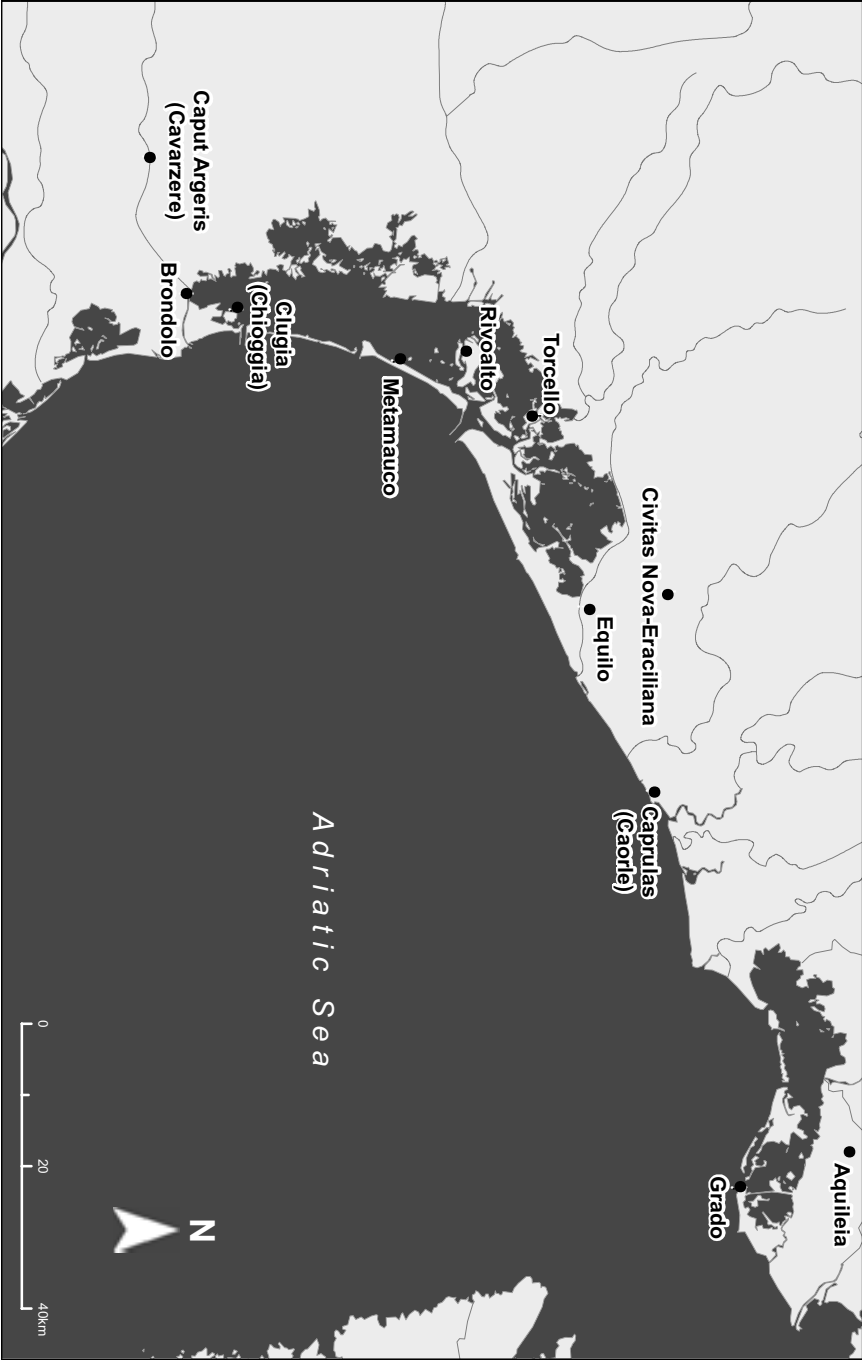
Appendix 1: First Names	259
Appendix 2: Rulers of Venice	309
Appendix 3: Co-Rulers	363
Appendix 4: Venetian Rulers and Co-Rulers Holding Honorific Byzantine Titles	375
Appendix 5: Tribunes	379
Appendix 6: Other Offices and Titles	385
Appendix 7: Occupations	391
Appendix 8: Advocati	397

Appendix 9: Liberti	399
Appendix 10: Ethnic Definitions	401
Appendix 11: People Mentioning from Where They Are	403
Appendix 12: Ecclesiatics	413
Bibliography	477

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the Editorial Board of 'Studies in the Early Middle Ages' for accepting this work for publication in their book series; Salvatore Cosentino, Ralph-Johannes Lilie, and Stefano Trovato for answering my queries; Stefano Gasparri (this book would have never been published without his 'intellectual integrity'); and the staff of Brepols for their valued assistance. Chiara Frison and Roberto Pesce have read and commented on the introduction and I have benefitted greatly from their advice. I am also grateful to Michael Heil and my research assistants Adam Matthews, Caitlin Murphy, Jesse Hysell, and Samantha Steele for their help in translating this book into English.

The research for this work has been funded by the Burnham-MacMillan History Department Endowment of Western Michigan University, a 'Faculty Research and Creative Activities Support Fund (Western Michigan University)', and an 'Arts & Sciences Faculty Teaching & Research Award (Western Michigan University)'. I wish to thank these institutions for their support.



The main locations of the Venetian Duchy. Map drawn by Jason Glatz.

## INTRODUCTION

### *Objectives*

The goal of a prosopographical analysis consists of the collection and organization of all the data available on a well-defined set of individuals; the set is chosen according to the research one wants to carry out, while the individuals are obviously selected because they have one or more characteristics in common.<sup>1</sup> Prosopographical investigations have been conducted, for example, on membership in the entourage of a sovereign or in a particular social group, tenure of a particular office or profession, geographical and/or ethnic origin, and participation in a crusade.<sup>2</sup> Where the amount of data is not too large or the research is conducted by a team of scholars, prosopographical studies have also been carried out on a broader scale, including all the individuals belonging to a vast geographical area and living in a certain period.<sup>3</sup> Most of these works

<sup>1</sup> A version of this introduction has been published in Berto, 'Note e proposte per uno studio prosopografico della Venezia altomedievale'. On the definition and objectives of this field of study and relevant bibliography, see Beech, 'Prosopography'; Bulst, 'Zum Gegenstand und zur Methode von Prosopographie'; Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 9–15; Werner, 'L'apport de la prosopographie à l'histoire sociale des élites'; Murray, 'Prosopography', pp. 109–12; and Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*. See also the articles published in the journal *Medieval Prosopography*.

<sup>2</sup> For some examples of this type of studies, see Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*; Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit*; Renardy, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège*; Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern, und Burgunden in Oberitalien*; and Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*. For other examples, see the annotated bibliography in Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*.

<sup>3</sup> For some examples of research conducted on the late antique and early medieval periods, see Jarnut, *Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Langobardenreich in Italien*; Moreno, *Prosopografia del reino visigodo de Toledo*; Jones and others, eds, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*; Pietri and Pietri, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*; Lilie,

are not only a 'Who's Who', since appendices in which the individuals are catalogued according to different categories provide a very valuable tool for various types of research.

The objective of this volume is to create such an instrument for Venice<sup>4</sup> between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The islands of these north-east Italian lagoons unquestionably constitute an extremely interesting area for prosopographical analysis. As a fundamental tool for a wide variety of investigations, prosopography, for example, allows students of subsequent periods to determine which families were part of the Venetian élites since Venice's 'earliest times', which families emerged in a later period, and which families fell into oblivion. On the other hand, it permits those interested in the late antique and early medieval periods to examine the transformation of an area of the late-Roman/Byzantine world which, while maintaining numerous contacts with the rest of Europe, was never conquered either by any of the so-called 'barbarian' peoples or by any of the various rulers who governed the Italian kingdom after the end of Lombard domination in Italy in 774.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Venice evolved from a peripheral zone of little importance in the Byzantine empire to an autonomous duchy, becoming one of the main powers in the Adriatic Sea and one of the greatest commercial centres of Europe and the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages. Equally remarkable is the fact that the Venetian duchy was probably the first part of Europe to adopt family names in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

The period covered by this analysis stretches from the end of the sixth century to 1008, the year in which Duke Petrus Ursolus II (991–1008) probably died. Besides the fact that the most recent syntheses of Venice's early medieval

*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Erste Abteilung*; Martindale, *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*; *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*; and Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*.

<sup>4</sup> In this introduction, Venice/'Venetia' will be employed as a synonym for the entire Venetian duchy. This was in fact the meaning of this term for most of the Middle Ages.

<sup>5</sup> For the history of the Italian kingdom in this period, see Cammarosano, *Nobili e re: L'Italia politica dell'alto medioevo*, pp. 97–321; Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy'; and Sergi, 'The Kingdom of Italy'.

<sup>6</sup> The first examples date to the ninth century, but in the oldest Venetian chronicle, composed at the beginning of the eleventh century, the first surnames appear for people living in the eighth century. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11. 14. 18. The adoption of family names in early medieval Venice was likely a result of its relationships with the Byzantine empire where the emergence of a family identity consciousness is recorded during the same period. On this topic, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 236–37. Another probable contributing factor was the need to distinguish people in a densely populated area.

history end in 1008,<sup>7</sup> the choice of this year as an ending point has two main justifications. First, the earliest Venetian chronicle, the *Istoria Veneticorum* by John the Deacon — the main primary source for this period — ends with this duke.<sup>8</sup> Second, it was during the rule of Petrus Ursoylus II that the Venetian duchy reached full maturity and succeeded in asserting itself as an Adriatic power.<sup>9</sup> As for the starting point, it certainly should not be considered as the birth date of Venice; rather, it is dictated by the fact that this is where John the Deacon's chronicle begins. In addition, the end of the sixth century corresponds roughly to the invasion of Italy by the Lombards (568/569), an event which provoked the flight of a part of the northeastern Italian population to the islands of the Venetian lagoons. It is not a coincidence that around this time a large number of inscriptions were produced at Grado, one of the *Venetia maritima*'s main centres in this period.<sup>10</sup>

As is true for the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages, the quantity, typology, temporal distribution of the Venetian sources present considerable obstacles to scholars.<sup>11</sup> After an encouraging beginning thanks to the above mentioned inscriptions from Grado, the seventh century is shrouded in almost total darkness, which slowly begins to lift in the eighth century. For the ninth century we have at our disposal the wills of two important men, Duke Iustinianus and Ursus, bishop of Olivolo, which provide valuable evidence and a handful of subscribers, but it is not until the second half of the tenth century that we have a detailed description of events in John the Deacon's chronicle and documents of a public nature which report the names of dozens of people; a charter from 982 contains 129 subscribers.<sup>12</sup> Fortunately, for this period scholars also have the lists of those who paid the tithe to the Venetian state,<sup>13</sup> an extremely valuable set of sources since the contributors

<sup>7</sup> Ortalli, 'Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II Orseolo', pp. 339–428. Ortalli, 'Il ducato'.

<sup>8</sup> On this text, see the introduction to *Istoria Veneticorum*; Berto, 'Giovanni Diacono, storico e diplomatico veneziano'; Berto, *The Political and Social Vocabulary of John the Deacon's 'Istoria Veneticorum'*. It is worth noting that no Venetian chronicle dating to the eleventh and twelfth century has survived.

<sup>9</sup> For this period, see Ortalli, 'Il ducato', pp. 774–80.

<sup>10</sup> Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 218–55.

<sup>11</sup> For example, see the observations of Gasparri, 'Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX', and Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 613.

<sup>12</sup> Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 624–28.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 57–59, 70.

seem to belong to the lower-middle class of the Venetian society, thus providing evidence that does not exclusively regard the elite.

The limited number of primary sources does not, however, mean that the number of early medieval Venetians about whom we have some evidence is also limited. Even taking into account probable repetitions due to the impossibility of distinguishing people with the same name, this volume contains entries for about 1230 people. Specialists of later periods might smile at such a number, but this figure begins to appear substantial if one takes into account the relatively small size of Venice and, above all, if one compares it to the approximately 8000 individuals identified for Anglo-Saxon England (597–1042)<sup>14</sup> and to the approximately 11,000 people recorded for the entire Byzantine empire in the period 641–867.<sup>15</sup>

### *Overview of Early Medieval Venetian History*<sup>16</sup>

For the period examined here, 'Venetia' always represents the entire Venetian duchy rather than the modern city of Venice, which developed from the Rivoalto island group. During the Roman period *Venetia* was the *X regio* created by Octavian Augustus and then under Emperor Diocletian became the *VIII provincia Venetia et Histria*, having its capital at Aquileia and extending from the River Adda to the boundaries of Pannonia. The process that led to the formation of a *Venetia maritima* cannot be clearly discerned, but the wartime events that struck this region in the fifth century played an important role, most notably the destruction of Aquileia in 452 by the Huns. Such episodes prompted part of the population of the mainland to take refuge in the area of the Venetian lagoons, thus bestowing on it a more important role. When the storm had passed, most of the refugees returned to their homes, but it is likely that some of them decided to settle on the Venetian islands.

The existence of a *Venetia maritima* in the first half of the sixth century emerges clearly from the famous description offered by Cassiodorus in

<sup>14</sup> Tinti, 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England', p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> Ludwig, 'Who is Who in the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*?', p. 241.

<sup>16</sup> The purpose of this section is to provide the reader who is not a specialist on early medieval Venice with an overview of the events, the society, and the geography of this area. For a detailed examination and relevant bibliography on these themes, see the essays collected in *Storia di Venezia*, I, ed. by Cracco-Ruggini and others; Gelichi, 'The Eels of Venice'; and Gelichi, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città'.

537/538, yet the Lombard invasion of 568/569 was the event that marked the formation of two very distinct Venices. The conquest of north-east Italy by the Lombards occurred in several phases over the course of about seventy years, and the migration of a portion of the inhabitants of this region to *Venetia maritima*, which remained under the control of Constantinople, followed this process. The immediate relocation of the patriarch of Aquileia to the island of Grado was, however, significant and highly symbolic. The subsequent division of the patriarchate of Aquileia and the creation of two patriarchal sees — one in the lagoons and another on the mainland — served to deepen the rift between the two Venices, and marked the beginning of a centuries-long dispute between the two sees with important consequences for Venetian history. The final phase of the Lombard conquest of north-east Italy around 640 provoked another important migration and reinforced the maritime identity of the ‘second Venice’. The fall of Oderzo, followed by that of Altino, compelled the Byzantines to retreat to the lagoons and to move the administrative centre of the *Venetia maritima* to Civitas Nova-Heracliana.

As in other parts of the Byzantine empire, this province was governed by a *magister militum* under whose authority there were some officers called tribunes. The absence of contemporary sources and the desire of later chroniclers to deny any form of subjection to Constantinople make the analysis of an independent Venetian duchy’s creation very problematic. Scholars currently reject the idea that the Venetians autonomously elected dukes between the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth — it is very probable that the first two dukes, Paulitio and Marcellus, never existed — and instead believe that this occurred in conjunction with the revolt which broke out in 726 after the promulgation of the iconoclastic edict of emperor Leo III.

The way in which the Venetian ruler was elected in those years, and indeed throughout the Early Middle Ages, is unknown. But it is clear that there were various ‘experiments’, a sign that it was necessary to go through a period of institutional adjustment and that there were several centres of power in conflict with each other. This process can be seen in a brief overview of what happened at the highest levels of the duchy. The rule of Duke Ursus, probably elected in 726 and killed by a group of Venetians after eleven years in power, was followed by a period of five years in which Venice was governed by five different *magistri militum*, each of whom remained in office for one year. The Venetians then deposed and blinded the fifth *magister militum* and elected Deusdedi as duke who was the son of Duke Ursus and had already ruled Venice as *magister militum*. Deusdedi was in turn removed from office and blinded by Galla, who shortly after suffered the same fate, to which the subsequent ruler, Dominicus

Monegarius, also fell. After this, the ducal seat was moved from Civitas Nova-Heracliana to Metamauco where the Venetians elected Mauricius as duke. The latter appointed his son Iohannes as co-ruler — an expedient that many other dukes would later adopt — and succeeded in arranging that, at his death, Iohannes would obtain the ducal office.

The conquest of most of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne in 774 did not represent the end of the, at times hostile, relationship the Venetians had with the mainland. In fact, the presence of Franks and the imperial ambitions of their sovereign served as a catalyst and raised the hostility to an even higher level. The Venetian duchy found itself between two fires: the Franks, who aspired to conquer it, and the Byzantines, who wanted the Venetians to remain in their sphere of influence. This tension had important consequences within Venice, too. Troubled by the ducal initiative to create a new bishopric at Olivolo (775) — that is, in an area near the ducal centre of power but quite far from the patriarchal see — and by the independence the Istrian bishops had obtained, the Patriarch of Grado, Iohannes, adopted a policy of favouring the new neighbouring power. This behaviour probably provoked the violent reaction of Duke Iohannes, who sent a fleet under his son's command against the prelate of Grado in 802/803 and had him killed. The subsequent patriarch, Fortunatus II, openly allied himself with the Franks, left the duchy, and went to the court of Charlemagne.

In the meantime a pro-Frankish faction, led by Tribune Obellierius, formed in opposition to Duke Iohannes. Some members of this faction left the lagoons for nearby Treviso and elected their leader as duke, who then seized power at Venice without bloodshed. Obellierius and his brother Beatus, appointed co-ruler, allied themselves at various times both with the Franks and with the Byzantines, depending on the pressures that these two powers exercised over Venice. This policy prompted the reaction of Charlemagne's son Pippin, the King of Italy, who tried to conquer the Venetian duchy in 810 with little success. The return of peace between the two empires led to the dismissal and exile of the untrustworthy Obellierius and Beatus and to the installation in power of Agnellus, who transferred the ducal seat from Metamauco to Rivoalto and had the ducal palace built on the site where it is still found.

The Venetians succeeded in maintaining their autonomy, but they also had to assume an active role alongside Constantinople and the Franks against the military activity of the Muslims in the Western Mediterranean — in particular in the Adriatic — during the ninth century, above all when the Saracens threatened to damaged Venice's commercial interests. For example, the Venetian dukes sent their fleet to help the Byzantines when the Muslims began their con-

quest of Sicily in 827, declared that they were ready to take part in the expedition Emperor Lothar wanted to organize after the Muslim raid against Rome in 846, and helped Emperor Louis II and the Byzantines expel the Saracens from Apulia (c. 870)

The attainment of cordial relations with the two empires did not, however, represent the end of internal conflicts. The rules of Agnellus and his successors were characterized by numerous conspiracies, which probably indicate that the Venetian state was still in a phase of adjustment and that opposition to the creation of a strong ducal authority remained. The bloodiest episode was the return from exile of Obellierius, who led a revolt of his fellow citizens of Metamauco (c. 829), probably dissatisfied with the fact that the ousting of Obellierius had coincided with the transfer of the ducal seat from Metamauco to Rivoalto. After some initial success, the uprising was subdued by Duke Iohannes II, who had Metamauco destroyed and Obellierius put to death. Iohannes II was, however, himself deposed twice, while his successor Petrus was assassinated (864). The struggle for power again came to characterize the duchy after about a century of relative internal peace. In 959 there were clashes between the supporters of Duke Petrus Candianus III and his son, the co-ruler Petrus, probably provoked by differing ways of interpreting the role of Venice in the Mediterranean and on the neighbouring mainland. The faction of the young Petrus was defeated and he was forced to leave Venice but, although he had had revenge on his compatriots by attacking some of their ships, he was soon recalled to his homeland, following the death of his father, and was elected duke. His behaviour — the repudiation of his wife, his marriage with a rich aristocratic woman from the mainland, and the recruitment of bodyguards from the Italian kingdom — and his policy, that was detrimental to Venetian commercial interests, namely the prohibition on trading in slaves and on selling weapons and timber to the Muslims, created substantial discontent among the Venetians. This led to a violent insurrection in 976 during which the duke, his son, and all the *milites* from the Italian kingdom were killed and most of Rivoalto, including the ducal palace and the basilica of St Mark, was destroyed by fire. Two years later his successor, Petrus Ursoylus, who was probably one of the leaders of the revolt, abandoned his title and his homeland to become a monk at a monastery in the Pyrenees, probably with motivations that were both religious and political.

On the death of Vitalis Candianus, who remained in office for just over a year, Tribunus Menius assumed power. During his reign as duke the struggle for power was rekindled, setting the family of the Coloprini against that of the Mauroceni. The former went so far as to leave Venice and ally itself with Emperor Otto II in order to take possession of the duchy, which was subjected

to an economic blockade. The subsequent death of the German sovereign, however, led to the failure of this plan. Internal harmony was restored during the rule of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008), who also succeeded in reaping the benefits of the slow but steady growth of Venice's power. Thanks to the good relations that had been established with the two empires, and to victories over the Slavs, who had caused the Venetians many troubles (above all in the ninth century), and over the Muslims, at the beginning of the eleventh century Venice succeeded in becoming the main power in the Adriatic.

The conflicts for power were not, however, the only events that created upheaval in the Venetian lagoons. The most troublesome episode was undoubtedly the clash between Duke Ursus II (864–881) and the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, concerning the election of Abbot Dominicus as bishop of Torcello. Acting against the will of the duke, the patriarch excommunicated Dominicus because he was thought to be physically ineligible to hold an ecclesiastical office; it appears that he castrated himself for an unspecified sin. It is clear, however, that control over the Venetian Church, which was probably in the course of reorganization, was at stake, and this case became a testing ground for the relations between lay and ecclesiastical power. The prelate of Grado fled from Venice and sought the intervention of Pope John VIII. To prevent the conflict from escalating and spiralling out of control, it was agreed that Dominicus would not receive the patriarchal consecration as long as Patriarch Petrus was still alive, but that he could live in the episcopal residence and make use of the properties of the Church of Torcello. After Petrus's death, his successor Victor — unwillingly and at the compulsion of the duke, it seems — consecrated Dominicus as bishop.

### *Elites and Public Officials*

The scarcity and fragmentary nature of the primary sources undoubtedly hinders the study of early medieval Venetian elites; yet, as Andrea Castagnetti has emphasized, those who have argued for the existence or the formation of a 'Venetian nobility' during the early Middle Ages have employed evidence gathered from later sources and have, above all, adopted rigid categories which cannot be applied to Venice.<sup>17</sup> This is not the place to recount that debate. However, it is possible to reconstruct the political and social preeminence of a group of Venetian families through their involvement in the political events

<sup>17</sup> Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 613–16.

of the duchy<sup>18</sup> and their presence in public documents (above all those from the second half of the tenth century),<sup>19</sup> yet it is not possible to analyse the processes by which they acquired their status.<sup>20</sup> It must also be remembered that only the tribunes bore a title, probably honorific and hereditary. Given that there are various individuals defined in this way, it is worth giving a general overview of them.

In the civil and military structure of the central and northern parts of Byzantine Italy the tribunes were officers named by the exarch of Ravenna. They were subject to the authority of dukes or *magistri militum*, commanded military contingents of various sizes and acted as subordinate officials in the governance of a certain district.<sup>21</sup> This structure also characterized *Venetia maritima* and was maintained even when, following the revolt that broke out over the iconoclastic edict of Leo III and the end of the exarchate of Ravenna, the Venetian duchy acquired considerable autonomy from Constantinople. An evolution of this organization certainly took place, but the primary sources at our disposal do not permit us to understand the exact nature of the changes or how they occurred.<sup>22</sup> However, as the following overview emphasizes, it does seem clear that the tribunes had a relevant role in the political life of the duchy throughout the eighth century and for part of the ninth.

After two 'non-peaceful' removals of Venetian rulers, Venetians decided that two tribunes had to assist and probably to control Dukes Dominicus Monegarius (756) and Agnellus (811).<sup>23</sup> Tribunes Obellierius and Carosus ousted Dukes Iohannes and Iohannes II respectively in around 805 and 833/834<sup>24</sup> and two tribunes collaborated with the Bishop of Olivolo, Ursus, in governing the duchy in the period between the deposition of the usurper Carosus and the reinstatement of Duke Iohannes II.<sup>25</sup> It is more difficult to

<sup>18</sup> This can be reconstructed thanks to the chronicle of John the Deacon.

<sup>19</sup> For the analysis of this presence, see Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 619–28.

<sup>20</sup> Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 613–28.

<sup>21</sup> In general, on the civil and military structure of the exarchate of Ravenna, see Ferluga, 'L'organizzazione militare dell'esarcato', and the recent overview in Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo)*, pp. 135–45.

<sup>22</sup> Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 19–20.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 18. 29.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24. 44.

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44.

determine if, how and when their office began to be passed down hereditarily and, above all, how and when the tribunes ceased to execute their duties as public officials. In general, it can be maintained that during the first century of the Venetian duchy's autonomy their power was based on their patrimonial wealth, from which their social and political prestige derived. Among the various possible causes for the evolution of their status and their subsequent decline, a significant role must be given to the emergence of the political importance of Rivoalto; the ducal seat was relocated to that area in 810/811 and numerous members of the Venetian elite seem to have moved there and progressively took possession of the political, social, and economic preeminence of the tribunes, who remained in minor centres.<sup>26</sup>

It must be stressed, however, that it is incorrect to believe in the existence of an opposition between *maiores/primates/nobiles* and tribunes, and of a compact and united social group of tribunes. John the Deacon, who composed his chronicle at the beginning of the eleventh century and whose sources are for the most part unknown, recounts that in 805, being in opposition to Duke Iohannes, Tribune Obellierius, Tribune Felix and *nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores* left Venice and settled at Treviso, where they elected Obellierius as duke.<sup>27</sup> In 833/834 Tribune Carosus expelled Duke Iohannes II and took power for himself, but he was in turn himself deposed and blinded by a faction opposed to him, composed of Tribune Basilius, Iohannes Marturius, and thirty *ceteri alii nobiliorum*.<sup>28</sup> A reminder to avoid generalizations and to take into consideration the absence of clear terminological definitions is also provided to us by the fact that the father of Tribune Carosus is identified as 'tribuno et primato' in a document of 829.<sup>29</sup>

Unfortunately we do not know of even a single person who held a subordinate office. The existence of gastalds in the early medieval period seems to be suggested by a charter of 819;<sup>30</sup> it must be stressed, however, that it survives

<sup>26</sup> For an examination of these themes and relevant bibliography, see Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 24–26.

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44.

<sup>29</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: 'Carosus tribunus filius Boniço tribuno et primato'. For a detailed analysis of the political and social terminology used in early medieval Venice, see Berto, *The Political and Social Vocabulary*, pp. 83–86.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 44, p. 73: 'nullus de publicis nostris gastaldis vel aliquis de nostro palacio missis'.

only in a late copy and is believed to be interpolated.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the *iudices*, only one individual is identified as such, in a document from the time of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008),<sup>32</sup> but it has been hypothesized that the text has been corrupted and that the office of *iudex* emerged only in the eleventh century.<sup>33</sup> The problem is further complicated by the fact that reference is made to *iudices* in a ducal privilege from 900.<sup>34</sup> This document too only survives in a later copy, but it does not seem to me to have been interpolated.<sup>35</sup>

### *Geography of the Venetian Duchy*<sup>36</sup>

Following the methodology adopted by the Venetian chronicler John the Deacon, who in his description of the main centres of the *Venetia maritima*<sup>37</sup> begins from the northern part of the duchy and ends with its southern boundary, and also following the subdivisions adopted by scholars of the Venetian duchy's geography,<sup>38</sup> three main areas can be identified. The northern area, which extends from the island of Grado to the island of Equilo (Jesolo),<sup>39</sup> is characterized by the presence of the island of Caprulas (Caorle), situated at the mouth of the river Limena-Livenza, and of Civitas Nova-Heracliana (Eraclea),

<sup>31</sup> See the observations made by the editor of the document.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Adamus, filius Cari iudicis, iuravit et dedit decimum'.

<sup>33</sup> Andrea Castagnetti believes that the word *iudicis* was miscopied and hypothesizes that the correct one is *iudei*. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 96, n. 186.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 35: 'quam iam bene memoratus Ursus dux cum Johanne filio suo, cum episcopis et iudicibus et populo Veneciarum fecit'.

<sup>35</sup> On this topic, see Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 90–92.

<sup>36</sup> The aim of this section is to provide an orientation to those unfamiliar with the structure of the early medieval Venetian duchy. I would like to emphasize that only the places from which the individuals cited in this study came will be mentioned here. For a complete overview of Venetian geography, see Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall' VIII al XII secolo', pp. 3–65, and Castagnetti, 'Insediamenti e "populi"', pp. 577–612.

<sup>37</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 6. Castagnetti, 'Insediamenti e "populi"', pp. 577–612.

<sup>38</sup> The early medieval Venetian primary sources do not report any subdivisions of the duchy, but in this section I follow the division of the Venetian duchy proposed in the most recent studies on this theme. Cf. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall' VIII al XII secolo', pp. 3–65, and Castagnetti, 'Insediamenti e "populi"', pp. 577–612.

<sup>39</sup> In this work I will use the Latin name of the Venetian locations. For the sake of clarity, in this section I have also added the corresponding modern name of these places.

the 'capital' of *Venetia maritima* from around the middle of the seventh century to 742. In the vicinity of the latter is the minor centre of Fine.

Moving southward, we find the area between Equilo and Portosecco, between the Piave and Brenta Rivers, a zone that historians have subdivided into three sub-regions which developed around Equilo, Torcello/Altino, and Rivoalto. Among the places mentioned in the period examined in this volume are, for the second sub-region, Altino on the mainland, the islands of Torcello, Haburiano (Burano), and Maioribus (Mazzorbo), and the island group of Costanciaco (Costanziaca) and Ammiana, while for the third we find Metamauco (Malamocco), the seat of the duke between 742 and 810, Pupilia (Poveglia), the island group of Amuriana/Muriana (Murano), and that of Rivoalto, capital of the Venetian duchy beginning in 811. In this last area are found Gemino/Geminis, Luprio, Olivolo/Castello, Canaledo (Cannareggio), and Dorsoduro, separated from Spinales (probably 'la Giudecca') by a wide channel.

In the southern region are found Clugia (Chioggia), Pellestrina, Albiola, and Caput Argeris (Cavarzere), but none of the early medieval Venetians known to us came from these locations.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The only exception is perhaps for Albiola. In two documents respectively dated to 978/979 and 991/1008 there are two individuals 'de Aybolas', where Aybolas might be a variant of Albiola. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 58, 70, pp. 110, 140. Of this opinion is also Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera*, p. 123, n. 236.

## *The Venetian Bishoprics*

### **Caprulas**

It is not known when the bishopric of Caprulas was created. The first reference to its bishop in the early medieval sources is in 876 on the occasion of the dispute following the election of Dominicus as bishop of Torcello.

### **Civitas Nova-Heracliana**

The first mention of a bishop of Civitas Nova-Heracliana occurs around 875 in the context of the conflict that broke out over the election of Dominicus as prelate of Torcello.

### **Equilo**

It is not known when the bishopric of Equilo was founded. Its bishop first appears in 864.

### **Metamauco**

The first mention of a prelate of Metamauco occurs in 876 on the occasion of the conflict over the election of Domenicus as bishop of Torcello.

### **Olivolo**

The bishopric of Olivolo was created in 775 on the initiative of Duke Mauricius.

### **Torcello/Altino**

The origins of the bishopric of Torcello date to the transfer of the Bishop of Altino, Maurus, to Torcello around 640.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> A fourteenth-century source reports that Paulus was the name of the bishop of Altino, who relocated to Torcello where he died shortly after and was replaced by Maurus. Andreas Dandulus, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 95.

## *The Venetian Monasteries*<sup>42</sup>

### **St Stephanus — Monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus**

Mentioned for the first time around 875 — the period in which Dominicus, ‘abbas Altinatis monasterii’ (probably St Stephanus)<sup>43</sup> was elected bishop of Torcello — this monastery was destroyed by the Hungarians at the end of the ninth century. The monastic community then relocated to its dependency on the island of Ammiana, the church dedicated to St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus, and refounded their monastery there.

### **St Georgius**

Located on the island of St Georgius, opposite the Ducal Palace, this monastery was founded on 20 December 982, on the initiative of Duke Tribunus Menius, who donated the church of St Georgius on that island to the monk Iohannes Maurocenus.

### **St Hilarius**

In a *privilegium* of 819 Duke Agnellus and his son and co-ruler, Iustinianus, donated to the abbot of St Servulus a chapel dedicated to St Hilarius, located in the vicinity of modern Dogaletto di Mira (Venice), along the Fusina channel, and authorized the relocation of the monastic community of St Servulus to this new site.

### **St Michael Archangel**

The first certain attestation of San Michael Archangel, at Brondolo, south of Chioggia, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Brenta river, comes from a charter dated to 800 which refers to a donation of land probably made around the end of the eighth century.

<sup>42</sup> This appendix only includes the early medieval Venetian monasteries from which we know some members. For further information about this topic, see Pozza, ‘Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani’.

<sup>43</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: ‘Apud Torcellum quidem mortuo Senatore episcopo, qui Altinatis ecclesiam annis [...] gubernavit, subrogatus est in ea sede Dominicus abbas Altinatis monasterii, qui olim fuerat monachus Sancti Illarii’. Cf. Pozza, ‘Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani’, p. 23.

## St Servolus

St Servolus, located on the island bearing the same name in the Venetian lagoons, is mentioned in a *privilegium* of 819 from Duke Agnellus and his son, the co-ruler Iustinianus, who gave their approval for the relocation of the monastic community to the new site of St Hilarius.

## St Zacharias

This nunnery, probably founded by Duke Iustinianus or by his father, Duke Agnellus, was located in the same place as the modern St Zacharias and is mentioned for the first time in Duke Iustinianus's will (829).

## *Organization of the Material*

The precocious adoption of surnames in early medieval Venice certainly constitutes an advantage for prosopographical research, but several facts make a precise reconstruction of this sort difficult. For example, the majority of Venetians in this period were named Iohannes, Petrus, and Dominicus; some names were passed down from generation to generation;<sup>44</sup> in the charters the patronymic is often not recorded, and there are rarely other elements which allow us to distinguish between individuals having the same name and belonging to the same family.<sup>45</sup>

Quantity, typology, and chronological distribution are not the only problems with the primary sources for the history of early medieval Venice. There are in fact some Venetian narrative texts, composed in later centuries, which pose a methodological challenge that is very difficult to resolve. I am referring above all to the work known as the *Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum* (*Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense*), which its most recent editor has argued was part of a single text of which there are three versions written

<sup>44</sup> Detailed studies are lacking for the early medieval period and for those that followed, but very useful general considerations can be found in Folena, 'Gli antichi nomi di persona e la storia civile di Venezia', and Tomasin, 'Note di antroponimia veneziana medievale (con un testo inedito del primo Trecento)'.

<sup>45</sup> As Andrea Castagnetti has observed, in contrast to what happened in, for example, the Italian kingdom, for the Venetians of this period both titles, which never became hereditary, and links to ownership of estates are very scarce, while references to relationships of subjection are completely absent. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 10.

between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.<sup>46</sup> All the medievalists who have recently expressed an opinion on this text agree in emphasizing the importance of this work, which seems to present a point of view on Venetian history different from that offered by the semi-official perspective of John the Deacon; but, at the same time, they are in agreement in seeing in this text a tangle of history and legendary reworkings. Despite these problems, and despite the fact that an accurate and comprehensive comparison of the information contained in *Origo* and the other available sources has never been undertaken,<sup>47</sup> there are different types of approach that range from the almost complete acceptance of the evidence contained in it to a total rejection of it. For this reason, I have decided to use only the early medieval sources,<sup>48</sup> to place the names of all the people mentioned in the *Origo* in an appendix, and not to use any evidence inferable from this source; for example, the names of families who moved from the mainland to Venice, the lists of patriarchs and bishops (about which there are serious suspicions of later reworking),<sup>49</sup> and the names of the ducal families.

Regarding this last type of information, in this study the surnames Galbais, Tradonicus, and above all Particiacus will not be used for the dukes of the eighth and ninth centuries, since these family names appear only in the narrative sources of the thirteenth century and later.<sup>50</sup> They are often used for

<sup>46</sup> This title was given to the text by the most recent editor, Roberto Cessi. Previous editors believed that these were different works, a judgement which I share. For an overview of the debate over this text and the criticisms of Roberto Cessi's edition, see the introduction to this work, Cessi, 'Studi sulla composizione del cosiddetto "Chronicon altinate"'; Fasoli, 'I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana', pp. 12–15, 32–35; Ortalli, 'I cronisti e la determinazione di Venezia città', p. 763; and Fedalto, *Aquileia*, p. 178.

<sup>47</sup> The most accurate analysis has been made by Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Großen Rats*, who has, however, maintained that the lists of the tribunes' families present in the *Origo* date to the tenth century (Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Großen Rats*, pp. 17–34) — a very debatable hypothesis based on extremely fragile evidence —, has not taken into consideration all the individuals prior to the tenth century, and has only offered a synthesis of his research, rendering it impossible to make a detailed evaluation of these data. On the methodology adopted by the German scholar, see the observations of Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 639–40, n. 11. To Rösch's research can now be added Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, which offers valuable tables of the proprietors of the Rivoalto area.

<sup>48</sup> Andrea Castagnetti has made the same choice in his study of early medieval Venetian elites. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 614.

<sup>49</sup> On this issue and relative bibliography, see Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>50</sup> *Origo*, p. 117.

convenience even in scholarly publications,<sup>51</sup> but they can easily lead even professional medievalists, not specialized in early medieval Venice, to erroneous conclusions.<sup>52</sup> For the Venetian dukes, who do not have surnames in the early medieval sources and who share the same name, the numerals II, III, etc. have been added. The list of the early medieval Venetian rulers will thus be as follows (commonly used names are indicated in square brackets):

Paulitio

Marcellus

Ursus

Leo (*magister militum*)

Felix Cornicula (*magister militum*)

Deusdedi (*magister militum*)

Iubianus (*magister militum*)

Iohannes Fabriacus (*magister militum*)

Deusdedi

Galla

Dominicus Monegarius

Mauricius [Mauricius Galbais]

Iohannes [Iohannes Galbais]

Obellierius

Agnellus [Agnellus Particiacus]

Iustinianus [Iustinianus Particiacus]

Iohannes II [Iohannes Particiacus]

Carosus (Iohannes II was deposed by Carosus, but the ducal title was later restored to him)

<sup>51</sup> On this topic, see the observations of Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 640, n. 20, and Ortalli, 'Il ducato', p. 782, n. 30.

<sup>52</sup> I am referring, above all, to the supposed family relationships in the ninth century between different Venetian dukes which are not confirmed in the coeval documentation. For an example, see Gasparri, 'The Aristocracy', p. 78.

Petrus [Petrus Tradonicus]

Ursus II [Ursus Particiacus]

Iohannes III [Iohannes II Particiacus]

Petrus Candianus

Petrus Tribunus

Ursus Particiacus [Ursus II Particiacus]

Petrus Candianus II

Petrus Badavarius (son of Ursus Particiacus) [Petrus Badavarius]

Petrus Candianus III

Petrus Candianus IV

Petrus Ursoylus

Vitalis Candianus

Tribunus Menius

Petrus Ursoylus II

The question regarding the surname Particiacus is also connected to the family name Badavarius (other variants are Baduarius and Badovarius). In the list of the Venetian dukes above mentioned, between Petrus Candianus II and Petrus Candianus III, there is Petrus Badavarius (son of Ursus Particiacus), traditionally indicated as Petrus Badavarius or with the modern form Pietro Badoer. In the primary sources he is never referred to as a member of the Particiaci, but I have decided to mention him among the members of this family because he is the son of Duke Ursus Particiacus<sup>53</sup> and in the chronicle of John the Deacon he is indicated in the following ways, which I cite in chronological ascending order: Petrus,<sup>54</sup> Petrus (in the oldest manuscript of the *Istoria Veneticorum*, which is not autograph, but which does date to the eleventh century, a later hand has added Baduario directly after the name Petrus),<sup>55</sup> and Petrus Badavarius.<sup>56</sup> In the so-called first version of the *Origo*, which Roberto Cessi has dated to the

<sup>53</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40.

<sup>54</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40.

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 46.

<sup>56</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 2.

end of the eleventh century, it is reported that the Particiaci were also known as Badovarii<sup>57</sup> and, on the basis of this comment, in a study of the Badoer family it has been supposed that these names were considered synonymous, that the Badoer were a minor branch of the Particiaci, and that, since the latter surname does not appear in the subsequent period, the definitive change of name occurred with Duke Petrus Badavarius.<sup>58</sup> However, this is only one of several likely hypotheses. It is possible that the chronicler John the Deacon took for granted the equivalence between Badavarius and Particiacus, yet it is necessary to remember that in another case he emphasized the two different ways in which a person in his work was known.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, it has not been taken into account that in the tenth century Badovarius is still clearly used as a first name<sup>60</sup> and therefore we cannot rule out the possibility that Petrus and Badovarius are respectively the first and second name of Duke Ursus Particiacus's son (there are some examples of this sort in the tenth century)<sup>61</sup> and that the anonymous author or authors of the *Origo* based the comment about Particiaci/Badovarii on this information.

The scarcity of evidence for the period before 960 unfortunately does not allow us to reach satisfactory conclusions, but in my opinion the tenth century was still a transitional period during which surnames were not yet fully in use by all Venetians, and some names, which later became family names (even very

<sup>57</sup> *Origo*, p. 46: 'Particiaci, qui Badovarii apelati sunt'. This statement is repeated in the third version of this text where other information is added. *Origo*, p. 146: 'Particiaci, qui Baduarii appellati sunt, tribuni anteriores fuerunt et ypeti imperiali honore fruebantur: de Papia venerunt et sapientes ac benevoli omnes fuerunt, unde factum ut ab omni Veneticorum populo laudarentur perpetualiter ex illorum prole duces esse'.

<sup>58</sup> Pozza, *I Badoer*, pp. 9–11. Another hypothesis identifies Badovarius, son of Duke Ursus II, as the progenitor of the Badoer family. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 617. But it is necessary to remember that the first 'Badoer' mentioned in the Venetian documentation is a Badoarius, who lived between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth (*Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 77), and that, as Marco Pozza himself has emphasized, Badovarius seems to have been used for the first time as a surname in a document dated to 900, in which a Ursus Badovarius appears. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36. Pozza, *I Badoer*, p. 9. I believe that we should reject the identification of this Ursus Badovarius with Duke Ursus Particiacus, who is mentioned in the charters only with the first name. Marco Pozza defines this identification as a 'conjecture'. Pozza, *I Badoer*, pp. 30–31, n. 12.

<sup>59</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 25: 'Iohannes quidem Bennatus, ceu Nugigerulus'.

<sup>60</sup> This continued to happen in the following centuries as well. On this topic, see the observations of Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 641, n. 56.

<sup>61</sup> For example, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 58, 70, pp. 110, 140, 142.

prestigious ones) seem to have been only first names. One of the main objectives of a prosopographical study is to provide evidence that can be used for any type of analysis. For the early medieval period in Venice the organization of data certainly represents a challenge, and the case just presented is a clear example of this. For this reason I have decided that, in the instances where there is a person X, who is not mentioned with a family name, but who is known as son/daughter or brother/sister or wife of Y, whose surname is mentioned, the entry for X will be placed among the members of Y's family. Duke Petrus Badavarius, son of Duke Ursus Particiacus, will be therefore placed among the Particiaci, and among the Badovarii there will be a cross-reference to the Particiaci. As has already been emphasized, Badovarius was also used as a first name and for this reason individuals, who are identified in the sources as 'Badovarius X', will be considered as belonging to family X.<sup>62</sup>

These are certainly not the only difficulties that must be confronted in the organization of the entries. The evidence available does not even permit us to know whether in the ninth and tenth centuries what appear to be patronymics, ethnic identifications, nicknames, titles/offices, occupations, and places of origin had already been transformed into surnames. This study is intended as tool for any type of research and I have therefore tried to organize the evidence in the best possible way. Those who are included among the first three categories, titles/offices — for example, *tribunus* and *patricius* — and adjectives that point to a non-Venetian location — for example, *Tarvisanus* — will therefore be catalogued as having a family name.<sup>63</sup> As for occupations, the situation is complicated by the fact that in the documentation of the ninth and tenth centuries it is very rare to find reports of the job of an individual who has a surname as well — in all cases the trades are quite humble.<sup>64</sup> For a more pres-

<sup>62</sup> For example, Badoarius Noheli and Badovarius Bragadinus. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 62, 70, pp. 122, 143. Marco Pozza holds a different position. While pointing out that Badovarius was also used as a first name, he believes that in the tenth century some of the branches of the Badoer had already been formed and for this reason he considers Badoarius Noheli as a double surname. Pozza, *I Badoer*, pp. 13, 29, n. 5. However, he does not take into consideration the fact that, as I have already emphasized, family names were still in a transitional phase during the tenth century. There is, in fact, an individual who was identified only as 'Nohel, son of Nohel' (*S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22), while in another document there is an Ursus Noheli. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149.

<sup>63</sup> For the Monetario, Tribuno, Patritio, Fiolario, and Tarvisano, see Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', pp. 617–18, 626.

<sup>64</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Faletro calderario iuravit et dedit'. II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Ioannes Grecculo carbonario dedit et iuravit'. II, no. 81,

tigious occupation, such as *monetarius* 'master of mint',<sup>65</sup> attested as a family name in the eleventh and twelfth century,<sup>66</sup> it is believed that the transformation already occurred.<sup>67</sup> The doubts arise concerning the jobs at a lower level, such as *becharius* 'butcher',<sup>68</sup> *caligarius* 'shoemaker',<sup>69</sup> *fiolarius* 'glass maker',<sup>70</sup> *saponarius* 'soap maker',<sup>71</sup> and *scandolarius* 'roof maker'.<sup>72</sup> As has been noted, the examples are very few in number, and they were probably still used as a way to identify individuals rather than as surnames,<sup>73</sup> but, since we cannot be certain, I have decided to adopt the same criterion for all the individuals of this period. For this reason all the identifications of this type which follow a name will be regarded as family names.

There are, however, some particular cases that will be treated in a different way. In the case of 'Joannes Navalario Lombardo', the ethnic identification is after the occupation and therefore I have chosen not to consider *Navalario* as a surname.<sup>74</sup> For 'Dominicus magistri Dimitrii'<sup>75</sup> and 'Petrus Magistri

p. 163: 'Dominicus Calbo fumar (probably = fumarius)'. There is a reference to a Venetian *medicus* in a non-Venetian primary source dated to 998 (II, no. 84, p. 170).

<sup>65</sup> Individuals identified in this manner are found in *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 35, 44, and *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 59, 70, 84, 87, pp. 111, 140, 170, 178.

<sup>66</sup> Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, p. 59.

<sup>67</sup> This is considered a surname by Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 618.

<sup>68</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Ottolo Bechario, liberto Iohanni Sagornino, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>69</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Dominicia, relicta Bono caligario, post obitum viri sui dedit scaramangias quatuor et castoneas duas et iuravit'.

<sup>70</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominico Fiolario conscientis'. *Fiolari* or *fiolieri* were workers employed in the making of glass. Cf. Monticolo, 'L'arte dei fiolieri a Venezia nel sec. XIII e nel principio del XIV e i suoi più antichi statuti', pp. 137–99, 317–50.

<sup>71</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Dominicus filius Leonis Saponario dedit et iuravit'. II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Saponarius'.

<sup>72</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Martinus, filius Martini Scandolarii, dedit et iuravit'. Given that 'scandola' means 'shingle', the *scandolarii* were probably roof makers.

<sup>73</sup> The Bechario are, however, attested among the families who resided at Rivoalto in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142.

<sup>75</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici, magistri Dimitrii, conscientis'.

Dimitrio',<sup>76</sup> both mentioned in a document dated to 982, the possible patronymic has the particularity of being placed after *magister* and for this reason *Dominicus* and *Petrus* will be indicated as sons of 'magister Dimitrius' and it will be added that they were probably brothers. For 'Petrus, filius Petri Magistri',<sup>77</sup> the name is placed before *magister* and therefore will be considered as a surname.<sup>78</sup> *Magister* will, on the other hand, be regarded as part of the surname of 'Laurentius Magister Petrus',<sup>79</sup> since both this word and the one that follows it are not in the genitive but rather in the nominative case. The fact that this is probably a surname is supported by the detail that the 'Magister Petrus' / Mastropiero family is attested in later centuries; its most prestigious member was the Duke Orio Mastropiero (1178–1192)

As for the individuals who are said to be 'de/da X', to the scarcity of evidence and the distribution and typology of the sources — in some cases there is also reason to suspect that the copyists made errors in the transcription of some words — one must add the absence of an accurate analysis of medieval Venice's toponymy<sup>80</sup> and of the names of families belonging to the middle and lower strata of the Venetian population. In the documents dating from the period between 960 and the beginning of the eleventh century — all drawn up at the ducal seat of Rivoalto — there are some individuals who are said to be 'de/da' an unspecified place such as a canal, *arger*, *rivus*, *pantanus*, *barina*/*barinas*,<sup>81</sup> mill, and *arbor*. In later centuries some of these forms were considered family names: the most famous examples are the 'da Molino' and the 'da Canal'. Concerning the latter, it is worth observing that there are some cases in which another place was also added, such as 'Dominicus da Canal de Methamauco'<sup>82</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus, Magistri Dimitrio, manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Petri, filii Petri magistri, qui hoc fieri rogavit.'

<sup>78</sup> Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 626 also agrees with this.

<sup>79</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142.

<sup>80</sup> The best study on this topic is still Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano', which unfortunately lacks bibliographic notes.

<sup>81</sup> That is the 'barene', areas between the mainland and the lagoons, which were and still are partially or completely submerged by water during high tide. Even today, there are some zones, both north and south of the city of Venice, which are named in this way. For example, in a document dated to 971, there is a 'Nello Barino', whose surname seems to refer to 'barena'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89.

<sup>82</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141.

and 'Marinus de Canale de Costanciaca',<sup>83</sup> surely to differentiate them from the 'da/e Canal' of the area around the Rivoalto who are mentioned in the same document.<sup>84</sup>

Although I do not absolutely want to suggest the existence of family relationships among those who, for instance, are called 'de/da X' or that 'de/da Y' certainly constitutes a surname, for the organizational reasons already mentioned I have decided to attribute this meaning to these forms.<sup>85</sup> Those who are from a specific *rivus*,<sup>86</sup> 'de/da Sancto X', which probably indicates a *confinium* of the Rivoalto's area,<sup>87</sup> and 'de/da' a very specific place in the Venetian duchy<sup>88</sup> will not, however, be considered in this way; the latter will be included in an appendix dedicated to the early medieval Venetians mentioning their dwelling-places.

It is also necessary to remind that, in some cases, the form 'de/da X' might indicate 'son of' or 'descendant of'; among these are, for instance, the *de Dulcio*.<sup>89</sup> The word *cata*, a Latinization of the Greek *κατά*, employed for some individuals recorded in ninth-century charters,<sup>90</sup> has probably the same mean-

<sup>83</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, pp. 142, 144: 'Joannes, filius Joannis de Canali ... Dominicus de Canali'.

<sup>85</sup> There will be an appendix devoted to all these individuals.

<sup>86</sup> There is only one case of this sort. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus de rivo Marini juravit et dedit'. In another similar example there is also the surname of the individual. II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Dominici Bonoaldo, de rivo de S. Laurentio, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>87</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Ego Ioannes de S. Paulo manu mea subscripsi'. There is a similar example for Metamauco. II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Iohannes de S. Luca, de Methamauco, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>88</sup> This list will include Spinales, probably modern-day 'la Giudecca' (Cf. Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, p. 30), and Corio. As for the latter, it is not even a 'minor' centre, but a *fundamentum* called 'Cona da Corio' is recorded in the vicinity of Chioggia. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano', p. 43 (see also the map on p. 39). For Spinales, there are only two examples, dating from 982 and 998. Both cases concern a Badovarius/Baduarus 'da Spinale'. *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Badovario da Spinale consencientis'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Baduarus de Spinale, qui fieri rogavit'. Marco Pozza maintains that they belong to a branch of the Badoer that settled at Spinales. Pozza, *I Badoer*, p. 13.

<sup>89</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73. This is considered a surname by Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 625.

<sup>90</sup> In most cases, however, it is used for people who probably lived sometime between the

ing. The small number of examples unfortunately prevents us from knowing whether this is the case of a patronymic being transformed into a surname.<sup>91</sup> I think that the first hypothesis is more likely. The entry for the father will therefore be mentioned, yet, since it is the Latinization of a Greek term, *cata* will be considered as 'de/da' and therefore *cata* + name of the father will be kept in the entry for the son. For example, in the main section of the prosopographical study,<sup>92</sup> from the piece of evidence 'Dominico filio quidem Iohanni tribuno cata Marcianico',<sup>93</sup> the entries will be:<sup>94</sup>

**cata Marcianicus, Dominicus**

Son of Tribune Iohannes cata Marcianico and grandson of Marcianicus

**cata Marcianicus (Marcianico), Iohannes**

Tribune. Son of Marcianicus and father of Dominicus

**Marcianicus**

Father of Tribune Iohannes cata Marcianico and grandfather of Dominicus.

The entries will be composed following this pattern.

second half of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. See, for example, the will of Duke Iustinianus (829). *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20, 21: 'Romana Dei ançilla cata Betegani de Equilo... Dominico filio quidem Iohanni tribuno cata Marcianico de Torcello'.

<sup>91</sup> I wish to thank Professor Ralph-Johannes Lilie for explaining to me this particularity, which suggests the existence of a usage of Byzantine origin. This has also been pointed out by Giandomenico Serra and Gianfranco Folena, who believes that *cata* is already a part of a family name. Salvatore Cosentino maintains that this word could mean 'son of', but uses this hypothesis only for one individual. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 216, 318. Professor Lilie informed me that there are some similar cases in Apulia. The employment of *cata* is also recorded in other parts of Italy that had been under Byzantine rule, such as Gaeta and Ravenna. Cf. Serra, 'Antichi nomi e cognomi napoletani, veneziani e sardi d'origine o modulo greco-bizantino'. Folena, 'Gli antichi nomi di persona e la storia civile di Venezia', p. 452; Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, p. 135. The hypothesis of Antonio Carile, who does not seem to be aware of this practice and has maintained that *cata* was a way to refer to a district, should be rejected. Carile, 'La formazione del ducato veneziano', p. 222.

<sup>92</sup> These examples will also be included in the appropriate appendix.

<sup>93</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20.

<sup>94</sup> The way the entries will be composed and the description of the various appendices will be discussed at the end of the introduction.

1) The surname and/or the name of each individual are formatted in bold type. The surnames and personal names will be arranged in alphabetical order by their nominative forms. Since many surnames were given in the ablative or genitive, I have decided to mention these cases in parentheses next to the nominative form only when they are clearly documented. For example, the individual will be catalogued as ‘Contarenius (Contareni), Iohannes’ when the source reads ‘Ego Iohannes Contareni’, but not when it reads ‘Signum manum Iohannis Contareni’.

When there are two probable surnames, which perhaps indicate a branch of a family, or two personal names, cross-references will be given about the choices that have been made.

For example, in the main section of the volume, Joannes Marinus Crassus, Martinus Hugarda Tencha, and Petrus Maurecenus Theodosius will be indicated in the following way:

**Crassus, Joannes Marinus**

**Hugarda Tencha, Martinus**

**Maurecenus Theodosius, Petrus**

Among the entries beginning with M and T, one will find cross-references to ‘Crassus, Joannes Marinus’, ‘Hugarda Tencha, Martinus’, and ‘Maurecenus Theodosius, Petrus’, respectively.

If a person is named as XY and X does not seem to be a name, he will be cited as XY and at Y there will be a cross-reference to XY.

Some examples of this sort are: Gulla Pelloso,<sup>95</sup> Ludotus Marinus,<sup>96</sup> and Sochin Zorchus.<sup>97</sup>

For ‘Lobana Cenibis Cogitane’,<sup>98</sup> the copyist probably made some errors. The first name was perhaps *Iubana*, while *Cenibis Cogitane*, which seem to be in the genitive, are unknown names and will therefore be considered as a double surname.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141. It is worth mentioning that there is also a ‘Martino Golla Pelloso’ II, no. 58, p. 109:

<sup>96</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 165.

<sup>97</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: ‘Sochin Zorchus, Papie qui fuit, in moneta Venetiae dedit et juravit’.

<sup>98</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21.

<sup>99</sup> Andrea Castagnetti hypothesizes that ‘Iobana Cenibis’ should be read as ‘Iohanaceni’. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 69, n. 76.

When the sources record *ceu* (= *seu*) and *vel* (terms which mean roughly 'also called'), either between two personal names or between two surnames the sign / will be placed between the two personal names or surnames.

For example, for 'Iohannes Bennatus, ceu Nugigerulus'<sup>100</sup> and 'Joannis, vel Ioannini de Mastalico',<sup>101</sup> one will find:

**Bennatus/Nugigerulus, Iohannes.**

**Joannes/Ioanninus de Mastalico.**

In these cases too there will be cross-references pointing to the entry. For the examples just mentioned, one will find:

**Nugigerulus; see Bennatus/Nugigerulus, Iohannes.**

**Ioanninus; see Joannes/Ioanninus de Mastalico.**

As has already been emphasized, in cases in which there is a person X who is not mentioned with a family name, but is known to be the son, daughter, father, mother, brother, sister, or wife of Y, whose surname (or, to be more precise, what seems to be a surname)<sup>102</sup> is recorded, the entry for X will be placed among the members of the family of Y.

For example, where we have 'Petrus, filius Urso Auregario',<sup>103</sup> 'Martino Villelmi Azario',<sup>104</sup> 'Dominicus da Mollino et Martinus, frater eius, juraverunt et dederunt',<sup>105</sup> Petrus, the first Martinus, and the second Martinus will be placed among the Auregarius, the Azarius and the da Mollino respectively.

When there is a person Y, where Y might be a surname, and it is recorded that Y was the son of XY and X is a personal name, Y will be catalogued as Y and not as Y, Y. An example is 'Badovario, filii Iohanni Badovario'.<sup>106</sup>

If, on the other hand, there is a person X (= personal name) who is known to be the son of Y (= a probable surname), X will be included among the entries

<sup>100</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 25.

<sup>101</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27.

<sup>102</sup> See the observations above.

<sup>103</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141.

<sup>104</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143.

<sup>105</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140.

<sup>106</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22.

X, not Y. For example, 'Petrus, filius Caroso'.<sup>107</sup> However, Domenicus, son of Faletrus, who in 864 took part in a conspiracy against Duke Petrus, will be placed among the Faletrus since the chronicler John the Deacon recounts that 'Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: ... Dominicus Faletri filius ... Dominicus Faletrus per Petrum Equilegensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.<sup>108</sup>

Since in medieval Latin, it is not uncommon to find variations such as d for t, j and y for i, u for o, and so on, I have decided to leave personal names and surnames in their original form, but to catalogue them as if these variations did not exist. For example, *Madrus* is placed among the *Matrus*, *Dulfinus* among the *Dolfinus* and *Johannes* among the *Iohannes*.

As has already been observed, the majority of Venetian men were named Iohannes, Petrus, or Dominicus, and in many cases sons had the same name as their father and grandfather and often lacked distinguishing characteristics. For this reason, although there might be some repetitions, I have preferred to include an entry for each of the namesakes who do not bear any distinguishing feature.

When there is reason to suspect that the primary source in which a certain individual is mentioned has been forged or interpolated, a question mark will be placed after the name of the individual.

2) Chronological information about each person is placed in parentheses alongside the surname and/or personal name. For rulers and ecclesiastics the period in which they held office will be indicated.<sup>109</sup>

Individuals with the same surname or personal name are listed in chronological ascending order. Those for whom precise dates are available will be

<sup>107</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Petrus, filius Caroso, de Castello, habitator Methamauci, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>108</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Although one cannot be absolutely certain about the chronology of early medieval Venice, for the Venetian dukes, I will follow the chronology proposed by Ortalli, 'Il ducato', pp. 725–90. For ecclesiastics, above all the patriarchs of Grado, the situation is made difficult by the fact that we have various dates which contradict one another, probably because the copyists committed errors in transcription. For this reason, only undisputed data will be given, with no attempt to reconstruct a chronology on the basis of how many years they remained in office. If only the latter kind of evidence is available, it will be indicated in parentheses in which part of a certain century the person in question lived and in the entry dedicated to him the duration of his time in office will be indicated, specifying the sources in cases where there is contradictory evidence.

placed before the people about whom only the century or period of attestation are known. If they are mentioned in the same year or period, they will be listed in alphabetical order. For individuals sharing the same name and are related, the older ones will be given precedence. Namesakes not possessing any distinguishing characteristics will be differentiated by a superscript Arabic numeral.

For individuals for whom there is only an indirect reference the abbreviation 'ref' will be placed before the date. For example, if in a document written in 960 'Petrus filius Iohannis Mauroceni' is recorded, the father of Petrus will be indicated in the following way: Maurocenus, Iohannes (ref 960).

When the dating of the source in which an individual is mentioned is not certain a question mark will be placed after the probable date.

3) The elements of qualification of an individual (office, ecclesiastical rank, occupation, etc.) and kin relationships are located under the surname and/or personal name.

4) The elements of qualification and kin relationships are followed by a summary of the facts that can be inferred from the sources. In cases where these would not be too long, the portions of the sources concerning the individuals will be cited in the footnotes along with any bibliography.

## *Appendices*

The individuals will also be divided into the following categories.<sup>110</sup>

### First names

- a. Lay males
- b. Ecclesiastical males
- c. Lay females
- d. Ecclesiastical females

Venetian Rulers (This appendix includes the five *magistri militum* who governed in the eighth century as well as those who took possession of the ducal office by force)

### Co-rulers

<sup>110</sup> The Venetian rulers, patriarchs, bishops, abbots, and abbesses are mentioned in ascending chronological order, while the entries of the other appendices are organized according to the chronological and alphabetical criteria described in the previous section.

Venetian Rulers and Co-Rulers Holding Honorific Byzantine Titles

Tribunes

Other Office/Title-Holders

Occupation

Advocati

Liberti

Ethnic Definitions

Place of origin

Ecclesiastics, who will be subdivided into patriarchs, bishops, *plebani*, priests, deacons, clerics, chaplains, ecclesiastical notaries, abbots, abbesses, monks, and nuns.

### Individuals Not Included

Agaocor ? (ref 824)

In the description of what he did for his Church, the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, states that he gave some silver to bishop Agaocor.<sup>111</sup> The fact that no other source mentions this prelate and that no one in Byzantine Italy ever used this name suggests that Agaocor was not a Venetian.

Domna, her father Sisinnius, and her husband Epiphanius are left out since the funerary inscription (discovered on the island of Poveglia) in which they are mentioned was brought to Venice from Constantinople.<sup>112</sup>

Lantfrid, cited in an epigraph from the monastery of St Hilarius,<sup>113</sup> is not included because the name of German origin suggests that he was not a Venetian.

<sup>111</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 45, p. 77: 'et dedi ibi argentum lib. X in manum Agaocor episcopo'.

<sup>112</sup> Feissel, 'Inscriptions grecques en Vénétie', col. 155. Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo archeologico di Venezia*, pp. 64–65, no. 66.

<sup>113</sup> Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, no. 29.

Flavius Mastallus and Flavius Parsinus are not included since the fact that the Church of Aquileia, i.e. Grado, gave them some estates located in Cesena's territory in 685 seems to indicate that they were not from Venice.<sup>114</sup>

Maurocenus, son of Maurocenus, is left out because he appears among the Istrian subscribers of a treaty made in 933 between Margrave Wintherus and Duke Petrus Candianus II and he professes to be 'de Iustinopoli (Capodistria/Koper)'.<sup>115</sup>

The subscribers of a renewal of that treaty in 977, among whom appear a Maurocenus, son of Dominicus de Helna, are not included since they all seem to be Istrians.<sup>116</sup>

Dominicus Tenca 'de Ferraria' and Ioannes 'de Ravenna', whose children are mentioned in the lists of people paying tithes,<sup>117</sup> are left out because they are not Venetians.

Nonosa, mentioned in two prosopographical studies about Byzantine Italy,<sup>118</sup> is not included in this work, because there is no reference to her in the inscription to which these two studies refer.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>114</sup> *Codice diplomatico istriano*, no. 31, p. 70. On the other hand, Salvatore Cosentino, who dates this document to 685 (670 in *Codice diplomatico istriano*), believes that Mastallus was from Grado. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 504.

<sup>115</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 36, p. 58: 'Signum manus Mauroceni, filii Mauroceni, de Iustino[poli] consentientis'.

<sup>116</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 56, pp. 105–08.

<sup>117</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes, filius Ioannis texerio, de Ravenna, dedit et iuravit'. II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Petrus Tenca, filius Dominici Tenca de Ferraria, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>118</sup> Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 271. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 423.

<sup>119</sup> *Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae*, no. 1600, p. 151: 'NONNVS ET EV/SEBIA, PETRVS / ET IOHANNES'. This inscription has been re-edited in Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 224, no. 5.

## *Description of the Main Narrative Sources for Early Medieval Venice*

### **John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum***<sup>120</sup>

The *Istoria Veneticorum* is a chronicle that was composed at the beginning of the eleventh century and that has been attributed to a deacon named Iohannes, ambassador and probably chaplain of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008). This work begins with the flight of some inhabitants of the mainland to the islands of the Venetian lagoons in the wake of the Lombard invasion in 569, and ends with the period of Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. The leitmotif of the *Istoria Veneticorum* is the narrative of the events that occurred during the rule of each duke, but the first part of the chronicle, which recounts the events down to the beginning of the eighth century, is the least original part since it is largely copied from the works of Paul the Deacon and Bede and contains very little information on Venice. The second half of the tenth century and the period contemporary to the author are, on the other hand, described in a more accurate way.<sup>121</sup>

### ***Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie***<sup>122</sup>

The author of this brief text is anonymous, but it has been hypothesized that it was written by an ecclesiastic of Grado in the mid-eleventh century. The *Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie* reports events from the transfer, provoked by the Lombard invasion of Italy in 569, of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Paulus, to Grado down to the death of Patriarch Ursus (1018–1045). The work is made up of a list of the patriarchs of Grado, and for the most part the author only records how long they were in office and their place of burial.

### ***Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias***<sup>123</sup>

The author of this text, which describes the theft and translation of the relics of St Mark from Alexandria (Egypt) to Venice in 827/828, is anonymous. It was believed that it had been composed in the eleventh century, but the discovery of a late tenth-century manuscript necessitates a re-dating of the text.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>120</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*.

<sup>121</sup> On this text and relevant bibliography, see Berto, 'Giovanni Diacono', pp. 8–10, and Berto, *The Political and Social Vocabulary*.

<sup>122</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*.

<sup>123</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*.

<sup>124</sup> Regina Dennig Zettler maintains that it was composed shortly after the translation of the relics, while Giorgio Cracco believes that the text was written between 971 and 976 as a polemic

*Public Documents or Documents of Public Interest*<sup>125</sup>

Foundation of the monastery of St Hilarius (819)<sup>126</sup>

Testament of Duke Iustinianus (829)<sup>127</sup>

Testament of the Bishop of Olivolo Ursus (853)<sup>128</sup>

Treaty between Duke Ursus II and the patriarch of Aquileia (880)<sup>129</sup>

*Privilegium* of Duke Petrus Tribunus to the monastery of St Stephen of Altino (900)<sup>130</sup>

*Placitum* held by Duke Ursus Particiacus on the dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello (919?)<sup>131</sup>

Prohibition on the slave trade (960)<sup>132</sup>

Prohibition on trade of timber and weapons with the Muslims (971)<sup>133</sup>

List of the individuals who paid the tithe during the rule of Duke Petrus Ursoylus (978)<sup>134</sup>

against Duke Petrus Candianus IV; this opinion is also shared by Emanuela Colombi. Paolo Tomea has expressed doubts about both of these hypotheses. Zettler and Zettler, 'La traslazione di san Marco a Venezia e a Reichenau', pp. 692–93. Cracco 'I testi agiografici', pp. 939–40. Colombi, *Storie di cronache e di reliquie*, p. 78. Tomea, 'L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale', p. 126, n. 61.

<sup>125</sup> I take this definition from Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', pp. 614, 643. The texts included in this category are documents concerning public matters such as treaties, *placita*, and payment of taxes and in which Venetian dukes were involved; they all survive as copies. In this work, I have used the sources collected in *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*. However, I have employed the edition of the sources published after the latter collection.

<sup>126</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1.

<sup>127</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2.

<sup>128</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1.

<sup>129</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, pp. 25–27.

<sup>130</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25.

<sup>131</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31.

<sup>132</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41.

<sup>133</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49.

<sup>134</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57.

List of the individuals who paid the tithe during the rule of Duke Vitalis Candianus (978/979)<sup>135</sup>

Foundation of the monastery of St George (982)<sup>136</sup>

List of the individuals who paid the tithe during the rule of Duke Tribunus Menius (979/991)<sup>137</sup>

Prohibition on provoking riots in the Ducal Palace (998)<sup>138</sup>

List of the individuals who paid the tithe during the rule of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991/1008)<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58.

<sup>136</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1.

<sup>137</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59.

<sup>138</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, 81.

<sup>139</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70.



## THE EARLY MEDIEVAL VENETIANS

### A

#### **Abrolinus (Abrolino), Pantaleo (880)**

He is one of the signatories of the pact (880) between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Adalbertus (979/991)**

*Libertus*. Former slave of Marinus Gradonicus. Adalbertus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Adamus (991/1008)**

Son of Carus. Adamus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Adoaldus (Adoaldo), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>4</sup>

#### **Adoaldus, Joannes (991/1008)**

Joannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Pantaleonis Abrolino'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Adalberto, liberto Marino Gradonico, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Adamus, filius Cari judicis, juravit et dedit decimum'.

<sup>4</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Adoaldo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Lugnano Boyso dedit duo

**Afrodites (fifth/sixth century)**

Probably the wife of Iohannes. Afrodites and Iohannes state that they fulfilled their vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>6</sup>

**Agatha (ref 829)**

*Dei ancila*. In his will the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, states that Agatha gave him some estates in the 'Polense' territory.<sup>7</sup>

**Agatha (ref 829)**

*Christi famula*. Daughter of Duke Mauricius and sister of Suria. In his testament the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, states that Agatha gave him some estates in Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>8</sup>

**Agathon (670s–680s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Agnella (sixth/seventh century)**

Wife of *tribunus* Antoninus. Agnella and her husband are mentioned in a funerary inscription discovered in Jesolo.<sup>9</sup>

**Agnellus († early 820s)**

Co-ruler. Son of Duke Iustinianus. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

pallia, quae recepit Joannes Adoaldus propter pallium, quod misimus domne Sophiae. / Joannes Martini dedit libras 9, et recepit eas Joannes Adoaldo'.

<sup>6</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, no. 3, p. 204: 'Iohannes et / Afrodites / uotum / soluent'.

<sup>7</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'De eo autem [...] qui sunt [...] Polense quas pertinuit Agathe Dei ancile'. Gherardo Ortalli believes that she is the Agatha, 'Christi famula' and daughter of Duke Mauricius, mentioned earlier in the will. Ortalli, 'Il ducato', p. 785, n. 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: 'De territoria qui sunt infra fines Civitatis Nove quas donacionis cartula habere et tenere visi sumus de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie, quod ei in divisione obvenit da Suria germana eius'. I believe that it is unlikely that Agatha and Suria are the daughters of Mauricius, co-regent Duke and son of Duke Iohannes. On this issue, see Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 615.

<sup>9</sup> Epigraph. Sartori, 'Antoninus tribunus in una epigrafe inedita di Iesolo (Venezia)', p. 593: 'Hic re[q]uires/ce(nt) Antoni/nus tribun(u)/s et Agnella con(iux)'.

**Agnellus (810/811–827/828)**

*Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Agneta (571/579)**

Mother of *lector* Iohannis. She and her son financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia’s mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>10</sup>

**Albanus (Albani), Iohannes (960)**

He is one of the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>11</sup>

**Albanus (Albani), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>12</sup>

**Albinus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>13</sup>

**Albinus [...] (960)**

He is one of the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>14</sup>

**Albinus [...] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>15</sup>

**Albinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>16</sup>

**Albinus (Albino), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 242, no. 30: ‘Iohannis / lect(or) cum / matre sua / Agneta / f(ecit) p(edes XXV)’.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: ‘Ego Iohannes Albani’.

<sup>12</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Signum manus Petrus Albani consencientis’.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: ‘Albinus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi’.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: ‘Ego Albinus [...]’.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: ‘Ego Albinus [...]’.

<sup>16</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Ego Albinus manu mea subscripsi’.

<sup>17</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Ego Iohannes Albino manu mea subscripsi’.

**Albinus (Albini), Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>18</sup>

**Albolus (Albolo), Dominicus (979/991)**

Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>19</sup>

**Amara (fifth/sixth century)**

Amara and Valentinianus financed twenty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>20</sup>

**Amara (571/579)**

*Lector.* Husband of Antonina and father of Haelia and Mellita. He and his family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>21</sup>

**Ameganus (Amegano), Laurentius (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>22</sup>

**Anastasia (fifth/sixth century)**

Anastasia, her relatives, Serges, Thecla and their son Theodorus financed forty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Petrus Albini juravit et dedit'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Albolo de Methamauco dedit et juravit'.

<sup>20</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 205, no. 4: 'Amara et / Valentinia/nus fecerunt pedes XXV'. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Amara is the father of Valentinianus. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 131. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, I, p. 100, states that Amara is a woman and that Valentinianus is Amara's husband.

<sup>21</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 224, no. 4: 'Amara [lec(tor)] / et Antoni[na] / cum filiis [suis] / Haelia e[τ] Mel[li]/ta uotu[m] / soluent'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Laurentius Amegano dedit et juravit'.

<sup>23</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 207, no. 8: 'Serges et Thecl/a et Théodorus / filius eorum / et Anastasia cum suis fe/cerunt pe/des XXXV'. Caillet

**Ἀναστάσιος (= Anastasius) (seventh century)**

πατρίκιος (= *patricius*).<sup>24</sup> Anastasius is mentioned in a seal discovered in Civitas Nova-Heracliana.

**Andreadus (Andreadi), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>25</sup>

**Andreadus (Andreadi), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>26</sup>

**Andradus (Andradi), Petrus (983)**

*Tribunus*. Petrus Andradus was one of Duke Tribunus Menius's three emissaries who asked Emperor Otto II to renew the privileges of the Venetians in 983.<sup>27</sup>

**Andreadus (ref 998)**

Father of Ursus, who is mentioned in the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>28</sup>

**Andreadus, Petrus (ref 998)**

Father of Andreas, who is mentioned the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>29</sup>

hypothesizes that Anastasia is a widow. Salvatore Cosentino and Thomas Brown believe that she is Theodorus's wife. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 135. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 251.

<sup>24</sup> Seal (Torcello). Dorigo, 'Bolle plumbee bizantine nella Venezia esarcale', p. 226: '† ANACTACIO ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ (Ἀναστασίῳ πατρικίῳ)'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Ioannes Andreadi'.

<sup>26</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Andreadi manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 62, p. 122: 'humiliter supplicante Tribuno, duce Veneticorum ... ac per nuntios suos Petrum Mauricinum monacum et Badoarium Noheli, nec non Petrum Andradi tribunum'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ursus, filius Andreadi da Fine'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Andreas, filius Petri Andreadi'.

**Andreadus, Andreas (998)**

Son of Petrus. Andreas is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>30</sup>

**Andreadus (Andreadi), Tribunus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the *placitum* (998) aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>31</sup>

**Andreas (887)**

*Tribunus*. In 887 Andreas retrieved the body of Duke Petrus Candianus from the Slavs against whom the Venetian ruler had died fighting.<sup>32</sup>

**Andreas (991/1008)**

Son of a Beneventan priest and brother of Laurentius. Andreas is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>33</sup>

**Antolinus, Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>34</sup>

**Antolinus (Antolino), Mauricius (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>35</sup>

**Antonina (571/579)**

Wife of *lector* Amara and mother of Haelia and Mellita. Antonina and her family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Andreas, filius Petri Andreadi'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis Tribuno Andreadi ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Tribuni ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 34: 'Cuius corpus Andreas tribunus, latenter a Sclavis sublatum, Gradensem urbem misit ibique sepultus est in atrio ecclesiae'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Andreas. filius presbiteri Beneventani, juravit et dedit. / Laurentius, frater eorundem, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis Antolini'.

<sup>35</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Mauricio Antolino consentientis'.

<sup>36</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 224, no. 4:

**Antoninus (571/579)**

Probably the son of *lector* Victorinus. Antoninus and his family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>37</sup>

**Antoninus (sixth/seventh century)**

*Tribunus*. Husband of Agnella. Antoninus and Agnella are mentioned in a funerary inscription discovered in Jesolo.<sup>38</sup>

**Antoninus (720s–740s)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Antonius (588/589)**

*Defensor ecclesie*, probably of Grado. In 588/589 the Exarch of Ravenna, Smaragdus, forced Patriarch Severus, three Istrian bishops and Antonius to go to Ravenna and to condemn the Three Chapters. They were allowed to return to Grado a year later. Paul the Deacon states that Antonius was old during this time.<sup>39</sup>

**Argilus (Argili), Dominicus (983)**

He witnessed the settlement between Duke Tribunus Menius and the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, concerning the belongings of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>40</sup>

‘Amara [lec(tor)] / et Antoni[na] / cum filiis [suis] / Haelia e[t] Mel[li]/ta uotu[m] / soluent’.

<sup>37</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 241, no. 29: ‘Victorinus / lect(or) fil(io?) cum / Antonino et suis uo/tum soluit’. Salvatore Cosentino does not mention him.

<sup>38</sup> Epigraph. Sartori, ‘Antoninus tribunus in una epigrafe inedita di Iesolo (Venezia)’, p. 593: ‘Hic re[q]uies/ce(nt) Antoni/nus tribun(u)/s et Agnella con(iux)’.

<sup>39</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III. 26: ‘His diebus, defuncto Helia Aquileiensi patriarcha postquam quindecim annos sacerdotium gesserat, Severus huic succedens regendam suscepit ecclesiam. Quem Smaracodus patricius veniens de Ravenna in Gradus, per semet ipsum e basilica extrahens, Ravennam cum iniuria duxit cum aliis tribus ex Histria episcopis, id est Iohanne Parentino et Severo atque Vindemio, necnon etiam Antonio iam sene Ecclesiae defensore. Quibus comminans exilia atque violentiam inferens, communicare conpulit Iohanni Ravennati episcopo, trium capitulorum damnatori, qui a tempore papae Vigilius vel Pelagii a Romanae Ecclesiae desciverat societate. Exempto vero anno, e Ravenna ad Gradus reversi sunt’. This passage was copied in *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 13.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, p. 133: ‘Signum manus Dominici testis ... Notitia testium, idest: ... Dominicus Argili’.

**Argisus, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>41</sup>

**Armatus (880)**

*Tribunus*. He is one of the witnesses of the pact (880) between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus. In this document it is stated that Armatus is 'de Luprius'.<sup>42</sup>

**Armatus (Armato), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>43</sup>

**Armatus, Joannes (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>44</sup>

**Armatus, Joannes (May 998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>45</sup> He might be Joannes Armatus (February 998).

**Atticar, Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>46</sup>

**Aucellus (Aucello), Venerius (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Argisi consencientis'.

<sup>42</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, pp. 26–27: 'Testes autem fuerunt inprimis Armatus tribunus de Luprius'.

<sup>43</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Armato, qui hoc consensit'.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Joannes Armatus'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Joanne Armato ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Joannis ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Atticar'.

<sup>47</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Venerio Aucello juravit et dedit'.

**Audoenus (974)**

Audoenus acted as the representative of the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, in the renewal of the privileges of the Patriarchate of Grado by Otto II (974).<sup>48</sup>

**Aulibadus (Aulibado), Lubianus (or Iubianus) (880)**

*Primatus*. He is one of the signatories of the pact (880) between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus. In this document, he is defined as ‘primato de Lubrius’.<sup>49</sup>

**Auregarius (Auregario), Ursus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Petrus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>50</sup>

**Auregarius, Petrus (991/1008)**

Son of Ursus. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>51</sup>

**Aureliana (571/579)**

Probably the wife of Ursus. Aureliana and Ursus state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 53, p. 95: ‘qualiter venerabilis Vitalis patriarcha gradensis sedis per nuncium suum nomine Audoenum’.

<sup>49</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: ‘Signum manus Lubiano (*or Iubiano*) Aulibado, primato de Lubrius’. According to the editor of this source, the first letter of the name may mean both I and L. The correct name is probably Iubianus. As emphasized by Wladimiro Dorigo, in a document, dated to 1118, a ‘rivo Iubiano Auloyrato’ is mentioned. This is likely the correct name of that *primatus*. Dorigo, *Venezia Romanica*, pp. 27–28. *Codex Publicorum*, I, no. 3, p. 29.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: ‘Petrus, filius Urso Auregario, juravit et dedit’.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: ‘Petrus, filius Urso Auregario, juravit et dedit’.

<sup>52</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 233, no. 12: ‘Ursus et / Aureliana / uotum / soluent’.

**Aureolus (Aureolo), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>53</sup>

**Aurius [...] (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>54</sup>

**Aurius (Aurio) (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>55</sup>

**Aurius (Aurio), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>56</sup>

**Aurius [...] (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>57</sup>

**Aurius, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>58</sup>

**Autecarius (Autecario), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus Aureolo juravit et dedit.'

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Aurius [...].'

<sup>55</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Aurio manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>56</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Aurio manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Aurius [...].'

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus Aurius.'

<sup>59</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Autecario consencientis.'

**Azarius (Azario), Villemus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Martinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>60</sup>

**Azarius, Martinus (991/1008)**

Son of Villemus. Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Martino Villelmi Azario juravit et dedit'.

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Martino Villelmi Azario juravit et dedit'.

## B

### **Badoarius (Badoario) (ref 824)**

In a charter (824), the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, states that he donated a *casale* 'in Pencircus' with some land that he had bought *de filiis Badoario*, probably meaning 'from the children of Badoarius'.<sup>1</sup>

### **Badovarius († 880s)**

Son of Duke Ursus II and brother of Duke Iohannes III, Ursus, Petrus,<sup>2</sup> Iohannia,<sup>3</sup> and Felicia<sup>4</sup>. Wishing to acquire Comacchio, Duke Iohannes III (881–887) sent his brother, Badovarius, to Rome, but the Venetian was wounded and captured by the Comacchiesi. Badovarius was subsequently freed, but died immediately afterwards, probably as a result of his reported wounds.<sup>5</sup>

### **Badovarius, Ursus (900)**

He is one of the signatories of the charter (900) in which Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 77: 'et unum casale in Pencircus cum vineis, et terris, et olivetis, quem ego emi de filiis Badoario'.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: 'domnus Ursus dux, dum quattuor haberet filios, id est Iohannem, Badovarium, Ursum et Petrum, omnes ducatus dignitate, praeter Badovarium, claruerunt'.

<sup>3</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'Iohannia siquidem abbatissa, domni Ursi duci filia, sancti Zacharię monasterium, iam pene consumptum vetustate, a fundamentis recreare studuit'.

<sup>4</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'suamque filiam, nomine Feliciam, Rodoaldo Iohannis ducis Bolonię filio in coniugium tradidit'.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 28: 'Iohannes vero dux Cumacensem comitatum ex Romani pontificis largitate acquirere cupiens, Badovarium suum fratrem Romam direxit. Qui dum Ravennam adiret, Marinus Comacensium comes super eum viros armatos misit et ibi vulneratus in crure captus est. Tunc predictus comes ne hanc iniuriam requireret, sacramento eum constrinxit atque dimisit; set reversus ad Veneciam, statim vitam finivit. Propter quam causam domnus Iohannes dux navali exercitu Cumacensem castrum properans eiusdemque populum adquisivit et, ordinatis ibi secundum suum velle iudicibus, ad palacium reddiit et morte fratris ulciscenda Ravennates depredari iussit'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ego Ursus Badovarius manu mea subscripsi'.

**Badavarius, Petrus, *see* Particiacus, Petrus Badavarius****Badovarius, Ursus (947/948)**

In the sixth year of Duke Petrus Candianus III's rule, Ursus Badovarius and Petrus Rosolus led a fleet against the Narentans.<sup>7</sup>

**Badovarius (953)**

Son of Iohanna Badovarius and brother of Iohannes and Urso. Badovarius, his mother and brothers gave an estate, located in Pellestrina, to Iohannes Barbanus in 953.<sup>8</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario), Iohanna (953)**

Mother of Iohannes, Urso and Badovarius. Iohanna and her sons gave an estate, located in Pellestrina, to Iohannes Barbanus in 953.<sup>9</sup>

**Badovarius, Iohannes (953)**

Son of Iohanna Badovarius and brother of Urso and Badovarius. Iohannes, his mother and brothers gave an estate, located in Pellestrina, to Iohannes Barbanus in 953.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 6: 'Igitur Petrus Candianus dux, quem prediximus, sexto sui ducatus anno triginta et tres naves, quas Venetici gumbarias nominant, contra Narrentanos Sclavos misit, quibus Ursus Badovarius et Petrus Rosolus prefuerunt, qui absque effectu reversi sunt.'

<sup>8</sup> This information is mentioned in a charter written in 1181. *Chioggia medievale: Documenti dal secolo XI al XV*, II, 1, no. 190, p. 137: 'una peciam de terra et vinea positam in Pelestrina, que habet per longitudinem passa quindecim et per latitudinem passa decem et medium ... Videlicet propter unam documenti cartulam factam inperantibus Constantino et Romano eius filio, anno autem inperii eorum Constantini quadragesimo secundo et Romani eius filii anno octavo, mense iulii, indicione, quam fecerant Iohanna Badovario una pariter cum Iohanne et Ursone atque Badovario filiis suis ad Iohannem Barbani de Metamauco de suprascripta petia de terra et de aliis rebus que in eadem cartula continentur, ut in ea legitur'.

<sup>9</sup> This information is reported in a charter written in 1181. *Chioggia medievale*, II, 1, no. 190, p. 137: 'una peciam de terra et vinea positam in Pelestrina, que habet per longitudinem passa quindecim et per latitudinem passa decem et medium ... Videlicet propter unam documenti cartulam factam inperantibus Constantino et Romano eius filio, anno autem inperii eorum Constantini quadragesimo secundo et Romani eius filii anno octavo, mense iulii, indicione, quam fecerant Iohanna Badovario una pariter cum Iohanne et Ursone atque Badovario filiis suis ad Iohannem Barbani de Metamauco de suprascripta petia de terra et de aliis rebus que in eadem cartula continentur, ut in ea legitur'.

<sup>10</sup> This information is mentioned in a charter written in 1181. *Chioggia medievale*, II, 1, no. 190, p. 137: 'una peciam de terra et vinea positam in Pelestrina, que habet per longitudinem

**Badovarius, Urso (953)**

Son of Iohanna Badovarius and brother of Iohannes and Badovarius. Urso, his mother and brothers gave an estate, located in Pellestrina, to Iohannes Barbanus in 953.<sup>11</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario), Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>12</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario), Iohannes (ref 982)**

Father of Badovarius who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>13</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario) (982)**

Son of Iohannes Badovarius. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>14</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario) (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). In this document it is stated that Badovarius is 'da Spinale'.<sup>15</sup>

passa quindecim et per latitudinem passa decem et medium ... Videlicet propter unam documenti cartulam factam inperantibus Constantino et Romano eius filio, anno autem inperii eorum Constantini quadragesimo secundo et Romani eius filii anno octavo, mense iulii, indicione, quam fecerant Iohanna Badovario una pariter cum Iohanne et Ursone atque Badovario filiis suis ad Iohannem Barbani de Metamauco de suprascripta petia de terra et de aliis rebus que in eadem cartula continentur, ut in ea legitur.

<sup>11</sup> This information is mentioned in a charter written in 1181. *Chioggia medievale*, II, 1, no. 190, p. 137: 'una peciam de terra et vinea positam in Pelestrina, que habet per longitudinem passa quindecim et per latitudinem passa decem et medium ... Videlicet propter unam documenti cartulam factam inperantibus Constantino et Romano eius filio, anno autem inperii eorum Constantini quadragesimo secundo et Romani eius filii anno octavo, mense iulii, indicione, quam fecerant Iohanna Badovario una pariter cum Iohanne et Ursone atque Badovario filiis suis ad Iohannem Barbani de Metamauco de suprascripta petia de terra et de aliis rebus que in eadem cartula continentur, ut in ea legitur'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Badovario'.

<sup>13</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Badovario, filii Iohanni Badovario, consencientis'.

<sup>14</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Badovario, filii Iohanni Badovario, consencientis'.

<sup>15</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Badovario da Spinale consencientis'.

**Badovarius (Badovario), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>16</sup>

**Badovarius (Badovario), Ursus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>17</sup>

**Badovarius, Ursus (983)**

He was one of the Venetians who left Venice with Stefanus Coloprinus and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Ursus had the task of stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through the river Adige.<sup>18</sup> He might be Ursus Badovarius (982).

**Badovarius (Badovario), Ursus (996)**

Ursus Badovarius acted as the *advocatus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in the *placitum*, held at Verona in 996, regarding the dispute between the Venetian ruler and the bishop of Belluno. In this document it is stated that Ursus lived in Rivoalto.<sup>19</sup>

**Baduarius (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998. In this document it is stated that Baduarius is 'de Spinale'.<sup>20</sup>

**Baduarius, Ursius (Ursio) (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>21</sup> He might be Ursus Badovarius (996).

<sup>16</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Badovario manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>17</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Urso Badovario manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>18</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 25: 'Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur, Ursus Badovarius Athesim fluvium previderet'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'in presentia Urso Badovario de finibus Venetiarum, habitator in loco, dicitur Rivoalto, advocatus domini Petri ducis Venetiarum, et ipsius pallatii Venetiarum'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Baduarius de Spinale, qui fieri rogavit'.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Ursio Baduarius'.

### **Badovarius da Spinale; see da Spinale, Badovarius**

#### **Badus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Badus, Marinus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Baffonus, Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Baffunus (Baffuni), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>25</sup>

#### **Baius (Baio), Ioannacius (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>26</sup>

#### **Baius (Baio), Albertus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>27</sup>

#### **Baldolus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Joannes Badus'.

<sup>23</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Marinus Badus'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Petri Baffoni'.

<sup>25</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Baffuni consencientis'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Ioannacii Baio, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 139: 'Alberto Baio juravit et dedit'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus Baldolus'.

**Barbadicus (Barbadico), Marinus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>29</sup>

**Barbadicus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>30</sup>

**Barbadicus, Ursus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>31</sup>

**Barbadicus, Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>32</sup>

**Barbalata (eighth century)**

Probably father of *tribunus* Donatus and grand-father of Grauso, who is mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>33</sup>

**Barbalongolus (Barbalongolo), Marconus (ref 997)**

Marconus was the father of Iohannes, Ursus and Martinus, who rented some properties from the monastery of St Zacharias in 997. In this document it is stated that Marconus is 'de Pupilia'.<sup>34</sup>

**Barbalongolus, Iohannes (997)**

Son of Marconus and brother of Ursus and Martinus. Iohannes and his brothers rented some properties from the monastery of St Zacharias in 997.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Marinus Barbadico'.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Barbadici, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ursi Barbadici'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus Barbadicus dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>33</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Gausone tribuno filius quidem Donato tribuno cato Barbalata de Equilo'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, pp. 158–59: 'Igitur nos Ursus atque Iohannes, seu et Martinus, toti tres fratres, filii Marconi Barbalongolo, de Pupilia'.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, pp. 158–59: 'Igitur nos Ursus atque

**Barbalongolus, Martinus (997)**

Son of Marconus and brother of Ursus and Iohannes. Martinus and his brothers rented some properties from the monastery of St Zacharias in 997.<sup>36</sup>

**Barbalongolus, Ursus (997)**

Son of Marconus and brother of Iohannes and Martinus. Ursus and his brothers rented some properties from the monastery of St Zacharias in 997.<sup>37</sup>

**Barbanus (Barbani), Iohannes (953)**

Iohanna Badovarius and her sons, Iohannes, Urso and Badovarius, gave an estate, located in Pellestrina, to Iohannes Barbanus in 953. In this document it is stated that Iohannes is 'de Metamauco'.<sup>38</sup>

**Barbanus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>39</sup>

**Barbanus, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>40</sup>

**Barbanus (Barbani), Dominicus (982)**

*Presbiter*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>41</sup>

Iohannes, seu et Martinus, toti tres fratres, filii Marconi Barbalongolo, de Pupilia'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, pp. 158–59: 'Igitur nos Ursus atque Iohannes, seu et Martinus, toti tres fratres, filii Marconi Barbalongolo, de Pupilia'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, pp. 158–59: 'Igitur nos Ursus atque Iohannes, seu et Martinus, toti tres fratres, filii Marconi Barbalongolo, de Pupilia'.

<sup>38</sup> This information is mentioned in a charter written in 1181. *Chioggia medievale*, II, 1, no. 190, p. 137: 'una peciam de terra et vinea positam in Pelestrina, que habet per longitudinem passa quindecim et per latitudinem passa decem et medium ... Videlicet propter unam documenti cartulam factam inperantibus Constantino et Romano eius filio, anno autem inperii eorum Constantini quadragesimo secundo et Romani eius filii anno octavo, mense iulii, indicione, quam fecerant Iohanna Badovario una pariter cum Iohanne et Ursone atque Badovario filiis suis ad Iohannem Barbani de Metamauco de suprascripta petia de terra et de aliis rebus que in eadem cartula continentur, ut in ea legitur'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Barbani'.

<sup>40</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Barbani consensientis'.

<sup>41</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus presbiter Barbani manu mea subscripsi'.

**Barbanus (Barbani), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>42</sup>

**Barbaromanus (Barbaromani), Martinus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Mathemauco'.<sup>43</sup>

**Barbarus (Barbaro), Iohannes (982)**

*Presbiter*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>44</sup>

**Barbola (unknown date)**

Barbola is mentioned in a fragment of an inscription on a sarcophagus.<sup>45</sup>

**Barbolanus (Barbolani), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>46</sup>

**Barbolanus (Barbolani), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>47</sup>

**Barbullanus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes Barbani utumachus [*sic*] dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus Barbaromani de Mathemauco [*sic*] dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>44</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes presbiter Barbaro manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>45</sup> Location: Murano: St Maria and St Donato. R. Cessi has hypothesized that two different inscriptions are present on this sarcophagus. According to him, Barbola is mentioned in the first one. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, V, P, p. 200: 'Ic / re|qui|evit / Bar|bola'. Different reading in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 76, no. 116: 'IC REQUIEVIT BARBO E.A'. M. Vecchi has hypothesized that 'E. A.' means 'Episcopus Altinatis'.

<sup>46</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Barbolani manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>47</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petri Barbolani consencientis'.

<sup>48</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Joannes Barbullanus'.

**Barbus (Barbo) Monetarius (Monetario), Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>49</sup>

**Barinus (Barino), Nellus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>50</sup>

**Baronilla, Bonus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>51</sup>

**Barovilla, Andreas (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>52</sup>

**Baruccius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>53</sup>

**Baruzzus (Baruzzo) (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Dominicus Sayrninus. Baruzzus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Martino Barbo Monetario juravit et dedit'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Nello Barino, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Bono Baronilla dedit et juravit'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Andreas Barovilla dedit et juravit'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Joannes Baruccius'.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Baruzzo, liberto Dominico Sayrnino, dedit et juravit'.

**Basilus (834/835)**

*Tribunus*. Basilus was one of the opponents of Carosus, who had overthrown Duke Iohannes II and appropriated power in Venice. Basilus left Venice and went to the mainland with other dissidents. Shortly thereafter, his faction returned to Venice and deposed Carosus. Basilus, *tribunus* Iohannes and the bishop of Olivolo governed the Duchy for a year. Afterwards, Duke Iohannes II was reinstated.<sup>55</sup>

**Vasilus (Vasilio), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>56</sup>

**Bassanus, Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>57</sup>

**Bassannus, Iohannes (991)**

In 991, he witnessed the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael Archangel.<sup>58</sup>

**Beaqua, Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Sequenti vero anno Basilus tribunus et Iohannes Marturius et ceteri nobiliorum numero triginta, predicti Iohannis ducis fidelitate a patria exientes, in sancti Martini ecclesia, que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strada scita est, ospitati et tam diu commorati sunt, donec Veneticorum multitudo ad illos conveniret, ut in Veneciam ad Carosi ducis periculum intrare sine aliquo obstaculo quivissent. Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio reclusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt. Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur.'

<sup>56</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Vasilio manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis Bassani.'

<sup>58</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, II., no. 3, p. 24: 'Notitia testium ... Iohannes Bassannus.'

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Beaqua iuravit et dedit.'

**Beatus (805–810/811)**

Co-ruler. Brother of Duke Obellierius. See the appendix ‘Co-rulers’.

**Becharius (Bechario), Ottolus (979/991)**

*Libertus*. Former slave of Iohannes Sagorninus. Ottolus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius’s rule.<sup>60</sup>

**Belignus (Beligno), Iohannes (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus’s rule.<sup>61</sup>

**Bembus (Bembo), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>62</sup>

**Bembus (Bembo), Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>63</sup>

**Benenatus? (680)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Civitas Nova-Heracliana’.

**Bennatus/Nugigerulus, Iohannes (983)**

He was one of the Venetians who left Venice with Stefanus Coloprinus and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Iohannes had the task of keeping the contacts among the Venetians who were trying to stop the flow of supplies to Venice.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: ‘Ottolo Bechario, liberto Iohanni Sagornino, dedit et iuravit’.

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: ‘Iohannes Beligno iuravit et dedit’.

<sup>62</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Signum manus Iohanni Bembo consencientis’.

<sup>63</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: ‘Petrus Bembo’.

<sup>64</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 24–25: ‘Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25.] Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur, Ursus Badovarius Athesim fluvium previderet, Dominicus quidem Silvo cum Petro Tribuno Mistrinis partibus insisterent, Iohannes quidem Bennatus, ceu Nugigerulus, inter omnes discurrere sedulae festinaret’.

**Bennis (Benne), Stephanus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>65</sup>

**Bennis, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Stephanus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>66</sup>

**Benogonus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>67</sup>

**Bentanellus, Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>68</sup>

**Bentanellus, Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Leo who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>69</sup>

**Bentanellus, Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus, filius Stephani Benne, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>66</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus, filius Stephani Benne, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>67</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Benogoni de Zilio Battano (= *de rivo Battario?*), juravit et dedit'.

<sup>68</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Dominici Bentanelli, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>69</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Leo, filius Dominici Bentanelli, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>70</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Dominici Bentanelli, dedit et juravit'.

**Bentanellus, Leo (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus. Leo is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>71</sup>

**Bentanellus, Leo (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>72</sup>

**Beteganus (eighth century)**

Probably father of *Dei ancilla* Romana who is mentioned in the will of Duke Iustinianus.<sup>73</sup>

**Bibulus, Marcus (571/579)**

Marcus and his brothers state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>74</sup>

**Boysus (ref 829)**

*Presbiter*. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Boysus 'de Equilo'.<sup>75</sup>

**Boysus (Boyso), Lugnanus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Leo, filius Dominici Bentanelli, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>72</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Leo Bentanellus'.

<sup>73</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per documenti cartulam de Romana Dei ançilla cata Betegani de Equilo et de Iohania Dei ançilla filia eius'.

<sup>74</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 237, no. 20. 'Marcus Bibulus cum fratri/bus suis uotum / soluerunt'. Caillet hypothesizes that Marcus and Bibulus are two different persons.

<sup>75</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Detenemus per documenti cartulam de presbitero Boyso de Equilo'.

<sup>76</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Lugnano Boyso dedit duo pallia, quae recepit Joannes Adoaldus propter pallium, quod misimus domne Sophiae'.

**Boldus (Boldu), Petrus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>77</sup>

**Boldus (Boldu), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>78</sup>

**Bolzanus; see Bulzanus****Bona (571/579)**

Mother of deacon Gazeus. Bona and her son state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>79</sup>

**Bona (571/579)**

Wife of *lector* Murgio. Bona, her husband, their children financed ten feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>80</sup>

**Bondandinus (ref 971)**

Father of Petrus who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>81</sup>

**Bonellus (second half of the sixth century)**

He is mentioned in an inscription on a sarcophagus.<sup>82</sup> It is not clear whether or not Bonellus was from Venice.

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Petrus Boldu dedit et juravit'.

<sup>78</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Boldu juravit et dedit'.

<sup>79</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 253, no. 53: 'Gazeus diaco/nus cum matre / sua Bona uot(um) / soluit'. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 240, believes that Bona is Gazeus's wife.

<sup>80</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 234, no. 15: 'Murgio / lector / et Bona / cum filiis / suis feceru/[nt pedes X]'.

<sup>81</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Petri, filii Bondandini'.

<sup>82</sup> Location: Venice, basilica of St Mark, Lapidario St Apollonia. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 36: 'BONELLVS'. S. Cosentino does not mention him.

**Boniçus (Boniço) (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Father of Tribune Carosus, who is mentioned in Duke Iustinianus's will. In this document Boniçus is defined as 'tribuno et primato'.<sup>83</sup>

**Bonaldus (Bonaldo), Fuscharus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>84</sup>

**Bonoaldus, Leo (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>85</sup>

**Bonoaldus (Bonoaldo), Stephanus (ref 982)**

Father of Dominicus who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>86</sup>

**Bonoaldus, Dominicus (982)**

Son of Stephanus. Dominicus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>87</sup>

**Bonoaldus (Bonoaldo), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). In this document it is stated that Dominicus is 'de Metamauco'.<sup>88</sup>

**Bonoaldus (Bonoaldo), Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: 'Carosus tribunus filius Boniço tribuno et primato'.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Fuschari Bonaldo'.

<sup>85</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Leonis Bonoaldo'.

<sup>86</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici, filii Stephano Bonoaldo, consencientis'.

<sup>87</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici, filii Stephano Bonoaldo, consencientis'.

<sup>88</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Bonoaldo de Metamauco manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>89</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Bonoaldo manu mea subscripsi'.

**Bonoaldus (Bonoaldo), Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>90</sup>

**Bonoaldus, Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>91</sup>

**Bonoaldus (Bonoaldo), Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that Dominicus is 'de rivo de S. Laurentio'.<sup>92</sup>

**Bonaldus, Joannes<sup>1</sup> (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>93</sup>

**Bonaldus, Joannes<sup>2</sup> (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>94</sup>

**Bonaldus, Stephanus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>95</sup>

**Bonozzus, Michal (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Leo who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Bonoaldo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>91</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Dominici Bonoaldo, de rivo de S. Laurentio, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>92</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Dominici Bonoaldo, de rivo de S. Laurentio, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>93</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Joannes Bonaldus'.

<sup>94</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Bonaldus'.

<sup>95</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Stephanus Bonaldus'.

<sup>96</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Leo Bonozzo filius Michali de Torcello'.

**Bonozzus (Bonozzo), Leo (991/1008)**

Son of Michal. Leo is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Leo is 'de Torcello'.<sup>97</sup>

**Bonprandus (Bonprando) (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>98</sup>

**Bonus (827/828)**

*Tribunus*. He was from Metamauco. Bonus and Rusticus were the two Venetians who smuggled St Mark's relics from Alexandria to Venice in 827/828. The anonymous author of the 'Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias' narrates that Bonus and his mate were at Alexandria along with other Venetians<sup>99</sup> and that Bonus was the godfather of the children of Theodorus, one of the two guardians of the church where the saint's relics were held.<sup>100</sup>

**Bonus (950s–960s; 960)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Bonus (Bono), Stephanus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>101</sup>

**Borsus (Borso), Lugnanus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Leo Bonozzo filius Michali de Torcello'.

<sup>98</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Bonprando juravit et dedit'.

<sup>99</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, IX. 3, p. 53: 'Porro Veneticorum naves quae Deo trahente adveniant decem erant, in quibus pariter omnes nobiles viri, inter quos erant clarissimi Bonus tribunus Metamaucensis et Rusticus Torcellensis'.

<sup>100</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, X. 3, p. 54: 'Theodorus presbyter, beati Pauli apostoli sequens doctrinam, uxorem habebat ac filios, quem etiam memoratus Bonus tribunus compatrem fecerat'.

<sup>101</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Stephanus Bono juravit et dedit'.

<sup>102</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Lugnano Borso dedit et juravit'.

**Brachius Curtulus (Brachio Curtulo), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>103</sup>

**Bradán, Georgius (ref 978/979)**

Georgius was the father of Dominicus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. It seems that Georgius died in 978/979 or shortly before that period.<sup>104</sup>

**Bradán, Dominicus (978/979)**

Son of Georgius. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>105</sup>

**Bradanus (Bradani), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>106</sup>

**Bradanißus, Bonus (executed in 820s)**

Bonus took part in a plot against Dukes Agnellus and Iustinianus in the 820s. The attempt to overthrow the dukes failed, and Bonus was hanged.<sup>107</sup>

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Brachio Curtulo consencientis'.

<sup>104</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Georgius Bradan dedit decimum sine sacramento; post discessum illius requisitus fuit filius eius, nomine Dominicus, in publico placito, ibique iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>105</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Georgius Bradan dedit decimum sine sacramento; post discessum illius requisitus fuit filius eius, nomine Dominicus, in publico placito, ibique iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>106</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Bradani manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>107</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 35: 'Eo quoque tempore quidam Veneticorum conspiracy aduersum duces facere conati sunt, ex quibus duo prope sancti Gregorii ecclesiam suspensi sunt, id est Iohannes Tornaricus et Bonus Bradanißo'. As this plot is mentioned after the death of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, it has been hypothesized that it occurred between 824 and 827. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 183.

<sup>108</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Bragadino'.

**Bragadinus, Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>109</sup>

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Ursus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>110</sup>

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Petrus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>111</sup> He might be Petrus Bragadinus (960).

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Badovarius (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>112</sup>

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Leo (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>113</sup>

**Bragadinus (Bragadino), Martinus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>114</sup>

**Bragadinus, Ursus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *liberti* Constantius and Emmo who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>115</sup>

**Bragadinus, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Bragadinus'.

<sup>110</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Ursus Bragadino'.

<sup>111</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Petrus Bragadino'.

<sup>112</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Badovario Bragadino consensientis'.

<sup>113</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Leo Bragadino manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>114</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Martinus Bragadino dedit et juravit'.

<sup>115</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Constantius, liberto Ursi Bragadini, dedit et juravit ... Emmo, liberto Urso Bragadini, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>116</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Petrus Bragadinus'.

**Bragadinus, Badovarius (991/1000)**

By order of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008), Badovarius Bragadinus led a fleet against the Slavs; he conquered the city of *Issa* during this raid,<sup>117</sup> which occurred before the Venetian expedition to Dalmatia in 1000.

**Bragadinus, Badovarius (991/1008)**

In the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule it is stated that Badovarius Bragadinus and Dominicus Urseolus received two *pallia* and some money.<sup>118</sup>

**Buessellus (Buessello), Martinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>119</sup>

**Bolzanus, Ciprianus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>120</sup>

**Bulzanus, Cyprianus (May 998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>121</sup> He might be Ciprianus Bulzanus (February 998).

<sup>117</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 40: 'Circa haec namque tempora Croatorum iudex propter interdictum sibi census a duce in Veneticos lesionis molestiam exercere conatus est. Unde domnus dux sex naves praeparatas illuc mittens, quibus Badovarius, cognomento Bragadinus, praefuit. Qui unam illorum civitatem, quae Issa nominabatur, comprehendens utriusque sexus captivos ad Veneciam deportavit.'

<sup>118</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'quinque mancusios recepit Badovarius Bragadinus et Dominicus Urseolo per ipsas duas pallias, que mandavit ad ducem ... et istas 13 libras recepit Baduarius Bragadenus et Dominicus Urseolo.'

<sup>119</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Martino Buessello consencientis.'

<sup>120</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ciprianus Bolzanus.'

<sup>121</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Cypriano Bulzano ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Cypriani ... qui interfuerunt.'

**Bumbranus, Ciprianus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>122</sup>

**Busianicus, Felix? (ref 991/1008)**

*Presbiter*. Father of Dominicus Businiacus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>123</sup>

**Businiacus, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of *presbiter* Felix Businiacus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Metamauco'.<sup>124</sup>

**Buzarius (Buzario), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>125</sup>

**Buzarius (Buzario), Petrus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Ciprianus Bumbranus'.

<sup>123</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus Businiacus, filius felicis presbiteri Businiaci, de Metamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>124</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus Businiacus, filius felicis presbiteri Businiaci, de Metamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>125</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Buzario consencientis'.

<sup>126</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 110: 'Petrus Buzario de Methamauco dedit et juravit'.

## C

**Caisolus (Caisolo), Io[annes] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>1</sup>

**Kaisolus (Kaisolo), Petrus (982)**

Petrus Kaisolus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). His brother signs after Petrus but he does not mention his name.<sup>2</sup>

**Caisolus (Caisolo), Ioannes (998)**

*Presbiter et notarius*. He drew up the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>3</sup>

**Calbanus, Dominicus (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>4</sup>

**Calbonus (Calboni), Iohannes (979/991)**

Iohannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>5</sup>

**Calbus (Calbo), Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Io[annes] Caisolo, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>2</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Kaisolo conscientis. / Signum fratris eius conscientis'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'quam scribere rogavimus Ioannem presbiterum Caisolo et notarium'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Calbano ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 110: 'Iohannes Calboni de Methamaucho dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis Calbo'.

**Calbus (Calbo), Dominicus (998)**

*Fumar* (= probably a chimney sweep). He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>7</sup>

**Caligarius (Caligario), Bonus (ref † 978)**

Deceased husband of Dominicia, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>8</sup>

**Caligarius, Dominicia (978)**

Widow of Bonus. She is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>9</sup>

**Calpinomus (Calpinomo), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>10</sup>

**Calpinus, Laurentius (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>11</sup>

**Cambolus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Calbo fumar'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Dominicia, relicta Bono caligario, post obitum viri sui dedit scaramangias quatuor et castoneas duas et juravit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Dominicia, relicta Bono caligario, post obitum viri sui dedit scaramangias quatuor et castoneas duas et juravit'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Calpinomo'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Laurentius Calpinus'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Signum manus Dominici Camboli'.

**Campolus (Campolo), Petrus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during the rule of Duke Tribunus Menius.<sup>13</sup>

**Candianus, Stephanus (864)**

Father of Petrus. In 864, Stephanus and his son took part in the murder of Duke Petrus. Consequently, Stephanus was exiled to Francia.<sup>14</sup>

**Candianus, Petrus (864)**

Son of Stephanus. In 864, Petrus and his father took part in the killing of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was exiled to Constantinople.<sup>15</sup>

**Candianus, Petrus († 887)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Candianus II, Petrus (931–939)**

*Dux*. Son of Duke Petrus Candianus. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Candianus III, Petrus (942–959)**

*Dux*. Son of Duke Petrus Candianus II. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Candianus, Richelda (c. first half of tenth century)**

Wife of Duke Petrus Candianus III. The known children of this marriage are: Duke Petrus Candianus IV, Stephanus, Vitalis/Hugo and Aichelda (or Richelda).<sup>16</sup> Richelda is mentioned in a charter dated to 1026, which reconstructs the property passages of some estates that belonged to the Candianus family.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus, liberto Petro Campolo, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 1: 'Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: ... Petrus Stephani Candiani filius ... Ceteri namque, id est Stephanus Candianus ... repulsi a patria, exilio apud Franciam damnati, redeundi aditum numquam reperire valuerunt'.

<sup>15</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletrus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>16</sup> I do not consider the Bishop of Torcello, Dominicus, to be the son of Duke Petrus Candianus III because the *Origo* is the only source reporting this relation. *Origo*, pp. 40, 130.

<sup>17</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 7, p. 38: 'Ymelda filia Vitalis qui nominatur Ugo, qui fuit filius domni Petro duci Candianus ... que fuit de domno Petro duci Candianus et ipse eam largivit ad suum hobitum a Richelde avie mee per suum testamentum. Et prefata avia mea eadem vinea largivit ad mater mea et ad fratribus meis'.

Her name seems to indicate that she was not Venetian; it is probable that she was from the Italian Kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

### **Candianus, Stephanus (960)**

Son of Duke Petrus Candianus III. He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>19</sup>

### **Candianus, Stephanus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>20</sup>

### **Candianus (Candiano), Vitalis (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>21</sup>

### **Candianus, Iohania (960s)**

She was the wife of Duke Petrus Candianus IV with whom she had a son, Vitalis, who became patriarch of Grado. Petrus Candianus IV divorced her and forced her to become a nun of the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ortalli, 'Il ducato', p. 764. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 24.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Signum manus Stephani, filii boni (cod. M.: Scalboni) domini Petri Candiani ducis'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Stephanus Candianus'.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Vitalis Candiano'. For this Vitalis, Andrea Castagnetti has formulated three hypotheses. He could be the son of either Duke Petrus Candianus III, or Duke Petrus Candianus IV, who later became patriarch of Grado, or the duke who ruled from 978 to 979. It is also possible that he is a Candianus about whom nothing is known. Marco Pozza agrees with the first hypothesis. Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 11: 'Qui non post multum tempus, nacta occasione, maritalis thorum Iohaniae uxori suę interdicens, in sancti Zachariae zoenobio monachicam vestem vi eam recipere coegit. Filium siquidem quem ex ea habuit, Vitalem nomine, clericum devovens, Gradensem patriarcham postmodum fieri promovit'. Andrea Castagnetti has hypothesized that Iohania Candianus became the abbess of St Zacharias because the name of the abbess of that monastery in 963 was Iohannia. However, the latter was from Ravenna and, therefore, probably was not the former wife of Duke Petrus Candianus IV. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 28; *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 45, pp. 77–78: 'Iohannia, abatissa de monasterio sancti Zacharie in finibus Veneciarum constructo prope palatium de Rivoalto ... pars predicti zenobii, cui nunc Iohania Ravennatis venerabilis abbatisse presse videtur'.

**Candianus, Vitalis (963, 972)**

In 963 and 972, Emperor Otto I bestowed the *curtis* of Musestre along with other properties in the *comitatus* of Treviso and the estate of 'Insula, que est sita in Istria' upon the 'veneticus' Vitalis Candianus;<sup>23</sup> Vitalis is defined as 'noster fidelis' in the first charter.<sup>24</sup> Sometime before April 977, the 'veneticus' Vitalis Candianus sold the property in Istria to the Patriarch of Aquileia, Rodald.<sup>25</sup>

**Candianus, Aichelda (or Richelda)<sup>26</sup> (959/976)**

Daughter of Duke Petrus Candianus III and Richelda. In a charter dated to 1079, which reconstructs the property passages of some estates belonging to the Candianus family, it is stated that Aichelda and her brother Vitalis gave some properties to their brother, Duke Petrus Candianus IV (959–976).<sup>27</sup>

**Candianus IV, Petrus (959–976)**

*Dux*. Son of Duke Petrus Candianus III. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Candianus, Petrus († 976)**

He was the son of Duke Petrus Candianus IV and his second wife Hwalderada. Petrus, a child at the time, and his father were killed during a revolt in 976.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 44, 52, pp. 75–77, 93–94.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 44, p. 75: 'Vitalis Candianus veneticus, noster fidelis'.

<sup>25</sup> This information is contained in a document written in April 977. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 55, p. 104: 'locum, qui noncupatur Insula, que est sita in Istria ... quam dudum videlicet beatae memoriae genitor noster (*Emperor Otto*) cuidam venetico, Vitali Candiano nominato, per precepti paginam tribuit ... ab eodem venetico venditum Rodoaldo patriarchae'. In spite of the fact Vitalis Candianus sold his property in Istria, Andrea Castagnetti has hypothesized that he should be identified with the father of Dominicus Candianus (May 998), to whom Otto III confirmed his paternal and maternal inheritance including the 'terra de Istria' on May 998, and with Vitalis/Ugo Candianus. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 44–46.

<sup>26</sup> Andrea Castagnetti calls her Richelda. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 58. It is likely that she had the same name as her mother and that the copyist made a mistake.

<sup>27</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano dal sec. VI a tutto l'XI*, no. 257, p. 282: 'Tunc ipse abbas suas cartas quas idem habet ibi ostendit. Ex quibus est una vendicionis carta quam fecit Anna comitissa relicta domini Vidonis comitis ad Petrum ducem Venetiarum filium bonum patrus ... est una firmitatis cartula quam Vitalis et Aichelda filii boni patris ducis fecerant ad fratrem eorum Petrum ducem Venetiarum filium bonum'.

<sup>28</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 13–14: 'Octavo decimo quidem sui honoris anno una cum filio parvulo quem de predicta Hwalderada habuit, tali ordine interfectus est ... Filium siquidem, quem nutrix ab incendii poena liberavit, a quodam nequissimo cuspide transverberatus est pariterque milites, qui illi favere nitebantur, occisi sunt. Gelida namque corpora quorum, id

### **Candianus, Hwalderada (960s–970s)**

She was the sister of the Margrave of Tuscia, Hugh, and second wife of Duke Petrus Candianus IV with whom she had a son named Petrus. She left Venice in 976 after her husband and son were killed.<sup>29</sup> Duke Petrus Ursoylus reached an agreement with Hwalderada in October 976, in which she renounced claim to all of her husband's existing assets.<sup>30</sup>

### **Candianus, Vitalis (978–979)**

*Dux.* See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

### **Candianus (Candiano), Dominicus (996)**

He is one of several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>31</sup>

### **Candianus, Vitalis (ref May 998)**

He was the father of Dominicus Candianus to whom Emperor Otto III confirmed his paternal and maternal inheritance including the 'terra de Istria' in May 998.<sup>32</sup> This might indicate that Vitalis was already dead.<sup>33</sup>

est genitoris et sobolis, ob ignominiam primitus exigua nave ad macelli forum, deinde, quodam sanctissimo viro, Iohanne Gradonico nomine, interpellante, ad sancti Yllari monasterium detulerunt'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 54, p. 100: 'ego Hualderada, relicta quondam Petri ducis Candiani ... ad filio meo Petro defuncto'.

<sup>29</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 11. 12: 'Deinde Hugonis marchionis sororem, Hwalderada nomine, in coniugio accepit, a qua servorum ancillarumque copiis prediisque maximis dotalicii iure acceptis, exteros milites de Italico regno, cum quibus defendere et possidere predicta predia posset, acquirere studuit. [12.] Octavo decimo quidem sui honoris anno una cum filio parvulo quem de predicta Hwalderada habuit, tali ordine interfectus est'.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 54, pp. 99–104.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalico, Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 83, p. 168: 'tertius Otto, divina favente clementia, Romanorum imperator augustus, Nostris fidelibus, notus sit quod nos [fidei] nostro Dominico Candiano, filio Vitalis Candiani, ob servitium et iugem fidelitatem ipsius omnem hereditatem vel possessionem paterno vel materno iure sibi pertinentem seu quecumque de suo conquisitu habet vel habere poterit, necnon et terram de Jstria, unde sibi Ravenne dedimus investituram ... per hoc nostrum preceptum confirmamus'.

<sup>33</sup> Andrea Castagnetti has hypothesized that he should be identified with Vitalis Candianus (963, 972) and Vitalis/Ugo Candianus. On the other hand, Marco Pozza believes that he is Duke Vitalis Candianus, which is unlikely since Dominicus is not defined as son *ducis Vitalis Candiani*. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 44–46. Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', p. 30.

### **Candianus, Dominicus (May 998)**

Son of Vitalis Candianus. In May 998, Emperor Otto III awarded the *servitium* and *fidelitas* of Dominicus by confirming him the paternal and maternal inheritance, part of which was a 'terra de Istria'.<sup>34</sup>

### **Candianus, Vitalis/Ugo (c. second half of tenth century)**

*Comes* of Padua and Vicenza. Son of Duke Petrus Candianus III and Richelda. Husband of Inmilia and father of Ubertus, Mainfridus and Inmilda/Melda, wife of Dominicus Ursoyolus.<sup>35</sup> In a charter dated to 1079, which reconstructs the property passages of some estates that belonged to the Candianus family, Vitalis and his sister, Aichelda (or Richelda), are reported to have given some properties to their brother, Duke Petrus Candianus IV (959–976).<sup>36</sup> At an unknown time, Vitalis changed his name in Ugo and became count of Vicenza and Padua.<sup>37</sup> It is possible to analyse these events thanks to some charters from the years 1015–1029. In 1015, at Montegalda, on the mainland, Inmilia, widow of the *comes* Ugo, and her sons, the *comes* Ubertus and Mainfridus, donated some estates, among which there the *isola quod dicitur Fogolana* and the *vinea qui dicitur Muradlia*, to Inmilda, daughter of Inmilia, sister of Ubertus and

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 83, p. 168: 'tertius Otto, divina favente clementia, Romanorum imperator augustus, Nostris fidelibus, notus sit quod nos [fidei] nostro Dominico Candiano, filio Vitalis Candiani, ob servitium et iugem fidelitatem ipsius omnem hereditatem vel possessionem paterno vel materno iure sibi pertinentem seu quecumque de suo conquisitu habet vel habere poterit, necnon et terram de Istria, unde sibi Ravenne dedimus investituram ... per hoc nostrum preceptum confirmamus'. Marco Pozza believes that he was the son of Duke Vitalis Candianus (this is unlikely as Domenico is not defined as son *ducis Vitalis Candiani*, while Andrea Castagnetti hypothesizes that he was a son of Vitalis/Ugo Candianus. Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', p. 30. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 44–50.

<sup>35</sup> The entries about Inmilia, Ubertus, Mainfridus and Inmilda/Melda will not appear in this work as they are not Venetians.

<sup>36</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 257, p. 282: 'Tunc ipse abbas suas cartas quas idem habet ibi ostendit. Ex quibus est una vendicionis carta quam fecit Anna comitissa relicta domini Vidonis comitis ad Petrum ducem Venetiarum filium bonum patris ... est una firmitatis cartula quam Vitalis et Aichelda filii boni patris ducis fecerant ad fratrem eorum Petrum ducem Venetiarum filium bonum'.

<sup>37</sup> Andrea Castagnetti believes that this happened between 967 and 976, while Marco Pozza favours the end of the tenth century and thinks that Vitalis/Ugo should be identified with the *comes* Hugo, mentioned in a *placitum* held at Verona in July 998. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 84, pp. 169–70. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 37. Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', pp. 30–31.

Mainfridus, and wife of Dominicus, son of the late Duke Petrus Ursoylus.<sup>38</sup> In 1016, in *Castro qui dicitur Novo*, in the Italian kingdom, the *comes* Ubertus and his brother, Mainfridus, sons of the late Ugo, *comes de comitatu Vicentino atque Patavino*, gave some properties to the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>39</sup> In 1025, at Rivoalto, Melda, that is Inmilda, daughter of Vitalis *qui nominatur Hugo, qui fuit filius domno Petro duci Candiano*, and widow of Dominicus, son of the late Duke Petrus Ursoylus, and his brother, Manfredus, borrowed some money and gave the *Vinea Murata* as a pledge.<sup>40</sup> In January 1026, at Rivoalto, Ymelda, who defines herself as in the previous document, borrowed more money, again pledging the *Vinea Murada*, from which she reconstructs the property transfers. Her grandfather, Duke Petrus Candianus, had given the estate to his wife, Richelda, who subsequently gave it to the mother and brothers of Ymelda, who donated it to Ymelda on the day of her wedding.<sup>41</sup> In two charters drawn up in May 1029 by a notary of the Italian kingdom, at Rivoalto and in Padua, Inmilda is defined as the daughter of *comes* Ugo and widow of Dominicus, son of 'Dux Petrus Ursilus'.<sup>42</sup> As Marco Pozza and Andrea Castagnetti have emphasized, the above-mentioned documents indicate that the previous name of the *comes* of Padua and Vicenza, Ugo, was Vitalis Candianus. His father, *dux Petrus*

<sup>38</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 3, pp. 28–29: 'Tibi Inmilda honesta filia mea et cumius Dominici filius quondam Petroni duci de finibus Veneciarum dilecta filia mea ego Inmilia erelita quondam Ugoni comitis et Ubertus comis et Mainfridus filius quondam Ugoni comitis germanis filiis et mundoaldis meis... per hanc cartulam donacionis proprietario nomine in te habendum confirmamus, i sunt ... seu in isola quod dicitur Fogolana, quod in vinea qui dicitur Muradlia salines octo, quibus sunt positus in fines Veneciarum'.

<sup>39</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 101, p. 136: 'Ego Ubertus comes et Mainfredus germani filii quondam Ugonis comitis de comitatu Vicentino atque Patavino'.

<sup>40</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 6, pp. 36–37: 'Constat nos Melda filia Vitali qui nominatur Hugo, qui fuit filius domno Petro duci Candiano, relictā Dominico filio bone memorie domno Petro Ursoyolo duci una pariter cum Manfredo fratri meo ... accepimus de te Stefano filio Dominico Maureceni Fusco et tuis heredibus libras de dinarios veronenses triginta quinque et media ... Pro maiori autem firmitatem ponimus tibi nixum fidu fiducie et loca pignoris, hoc est super tota ipsa mea Vinea Murata, posita iusta canale de Litus Marcense'.

<sup>41</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 7, p. 38: 'que fuit de domno Petro duci Candiano et ipse eam largivit ad suum hobitum a Richelde avie mee per suum testamentum. Et prefacta avia mea eadem vinea largivit ad mater mea et ad fratribus meis. Postmodum mater mea cum fratribus meis predicta vinea cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus michi donaverunt in die sponsalie mee'.

<sup>42</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, nos 10, 11, pp. 43, 46: 'Inmilda filia femina quondam Ugoni iugalibus comis... ego quendam Inmilda filia donni Yugoni comis set relictā Dominici filio domni Petri Ursili duci'.

*Candianus*, is the same Duke Petrus Candianus III, who bought the *curtis* of Fogolana (one of the estates donated to Inmilda) in 944, and, therefore, Duke Petrus Candianus II could not own this property. Inmilda states that the name of her grandmother, *Dux* Petrus Candianus's wife, was Richelda. As the names of Duke Petrus Candianus IV's two wives were Iohania and Hwalderada, it follows that Vitalis was Duke Petrus Candianus III's son.<sup>43</sup> It has been hypothesized that Vitalis/Ugo Candianus should be identified with Vitalis Candianus (963, 972).<sup>44</sup>

**Candianus, Dominicus (second half of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Son of Duke Vitalis Candianus. Two charters, dated to late tenth/early eleventh century<sup>45</sup> and 1026, respectively, mention Dominicus.<sup>46</sup>

**Candianus, Vitalis III (960s–1010s)**

*Clericus; Patriarcha*. Son of Duke Petrus Candianus IV and Iohania. See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Candidianus (beginning of the seventh century)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Capellus (Capello), Vitalis (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', pp. 16–18. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 11–21.

<sup>44</sup> Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano', pp. 20–23. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 35–36.

<sup>45</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: 'Dominico filio dompni prelibati Vitalis Candiano duci'.

<sup>46</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 8, p. 40: 'Plenam et inrevocabilem securitatem mito ego quidem Dominico filio bone memorie domno Vitali duci Candianus cum meis heredibus tibi Stefano filio Dominico Maureceni Fusco et tuis heredibus desuper totas triginta et quinque libras et mediam de dinariis de Verona, quod nos invicem dedimus ad Meldam relictam Dominico filio dompno Petro Ursoyolo duci et ad fratre suo Mainfredo, unde vero ad tuum nomen caucionis cartulam de eo recipisti'. It has been hypothesized that he could be Dominicus Candianus (996) and Dominicus Candianus (998). For a detailed analysis of the various hypotheses, see Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 42–54.

<sup>47</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 173: 'Signum manus ... Vitalis Capello'.

**Capellus (Capello), Leo (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>48</sup>

**Capellus (Capello), Martinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>49</sup>

**Caraciacanapis (Caraciacanape), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>50</sup>

**Carimanus, Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>51</sup>

**Carimanus, Dominicus (ref 976)**

He is the father of Dominicus, who in 976, after the killing of Duke Petrus Candianus IV, acted as legate of Duke Petrus Ursoylus at Piacenza in the settlement between the latter and the widow of Duke Petrus Candianus IV Hwaldrada.<sup>52</sup>

**Carimanus (Carimano), Dominicus (976)**

Son of Dominicus. In 976, after the killing of Duke Petrus Candianus IV, Dominicus acted as ambassador of Duke Petrus Ursoylus at Piacenza in the settlement between the latter and the widow of Duke Petrus Candianus IV Hwaldrada.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Leoni Capello consencientis'.

<sup>49</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Martino Capello consencientis'.

<sup>50</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Caraciacanape consencientis'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus Dominici Carimani'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 54, pp. 99, 100: 'Ibique eorum veniens presentia Dominicus, filius Dominici, ex finibus Venetiarum, qui Carimano vocabatur ... Et tunc ibi presens ipse Dominicus, qui Carimano vocabatur, in vicem Petri ducis Ursiolo, senioris sui'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 54, pp. 99, 100: 'Ibique eorum veniens presentia Dominicus, filius Dominici, ex finibus Venetiarum, qui Carimano vocabatur ... Et tunc ibi presens ipse Dominicus, qui Carimano vocabatur, in vicem Petri ducis Ursiolo, senioris sui'.

**Carimannus, Dominicus (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>54</sup>

**Carosus (829, 834/835)**

*Tribunus. Dux.* See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Carosus (Caroso) (ref 978/979)**

Father of Petrus 'habitor Methamauci' who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that Carosus is 'de Castello'.<sup>55</sup>

For the entry, Petrus, son of Carosus, see Petrus (978/979).

**Carosus, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>56</sup>

**Carraria, Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>57</sup>

**Carraria, Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is *Metamaucensis*.<sup>58</sup>

**Carus (ref 991/1008)**

*Iudex?* Father of Adamus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Carimanno ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Petrus, filius Caroso, de Castello, habitator Methamauci, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Petrus Carosus'.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus Carraria dedit propter decimum camisias 46, peliciam unam de agnello, libras de denariis 3'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Petrus Carraria Metamaucensis'.

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Adamus, filius Cari iudicis, iuravit

**Casiolus (Casiolo), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>60</sup>

**Castus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>61</sup>

**cato Barbalata, Donatus (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Probably son of Barbalata and father of Grauso who is mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>62</sup>

**cato Barbalata, Grauso (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Son of *tribunus* Donatus and probably grand-son of Barbalata. In his will Duke Iustinianus reports that he bought some estates from Grauso. In this document it is stated that Grauso is 'de Equilo'.<sup>63</sup>

**cata Betegani, Romana (ref 829)**

*Dei ancilla*. Probably daughter of Beteganus and mother of Iohannia. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Romana 'cata Betegani de Equilo' and her daughter Iohannia.<sup>64</sup>

**cata Lupanicus, Deusdedi (853)**

*Tribunus*. He could be related to Lupanicus. In 853, he witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>65</sup>

et dedit decimum'. Andrea Castagnetti believes that the word *judicis* was miscopied and hypothesizes that the correct one is *iudei*. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 96, n. 186.

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Casiolo'.

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Castus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>62</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Gausone tribuno filius quidem Donato tribuno cato Barbalata de Equilo'.

<sup>63</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'terras et vineas et campos, que sita sunt in loco, qui dicitur Prato, quod per documentis cartulas habere decrevimus, idest de Gausone tribuno filius quidem Donato tribuno cato Barbalata de Equilo'.

<sup>64</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per documentis cartulam de Romana Dei ancilla cata Betegani de Equilo et de Iohannia Dei ancilla filia eius'.

<sup>65</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Deusdedi tribunus ... Notitia testium ... Deusdedi

**cata Magistracus, Iohannes (853)**

*Tribunus*. Probably son of Magistracus. In 853, Iohannes witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>66</sup>

**cata Marcianicus (Marcianico), Iohannes (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Probably son of Marcianicus and father of Dominicus who is mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>67</sup>

**cata Marcianicus (Marcianico), Dominicus (ref 829)**

Son of *tribunus* Iohannes and probably grand-son of Marcianicus. Duke Iustinianus states in his will that he purchased some vineyards belonging to Dominicus. In this document, it is stated that Dominicus is from Torcello.<sup>68</sup>

**cata Mastalicus?, Dominicus (853)**

*Tribunus*; probably son of Mastalicus. In 853, Dominicus witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>69</sup>

**cata Trazamundus (Trazamundo), Basilius (829)**

*Tribunus*. Probably son of Trazamundus. Basilius witnessed Duke Iustinianus's will in 829.<sup>70</sup>

tribunus..... \*\*\*\*\* | tribunus cata Lupanicus..... \*\*\*\*\*.

<sup>66</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Iohannes tribunus in huc testamentu rogatus ad Ursus episcopus manu mea subscripsi ... Notitia testium idest ... Iohannes tribunus cata Magistracus.'

<sup>67</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'Item vineas quas ego per documenti cartulam tenere visus sum de Dominico filio quidem Iohanni tribuno cata Marcianico de Torcello.'

<sup>68</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'Item vineas quas ego per documenti cartulam tenere visus sum de Dominico filio quidem Iohanni tribuno cata Marcianico de Torcello.'

<sup>69</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Patricius in hunc testamentum manu mea subscripsi / † Dominicus tribunus in hunc testamentum rogatus ad Ursus episcopus manu mea subscripsi ... Notitia testium... Patricius filius Vitalis Pa..... \*\*\*\*\* cata Mastalicus.' As one can see, the document is not clear because it is damaged. However, Dominicus's family name was probably cata Mastalicus, because in the 'Notitia testium' cata Mastalicus is mentioned after Patricius and a lacuna and in the list of the witnesses Dominicus comes after Patricius.

<sup>70</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: '† Basilius tri\*\*\*\*\* ... id est ... Blasius [*sic*] tribunus cata Trazamundo.'

**Catunus (Catuni), Giorgius (819)**

In 819, Giorgius witnessed the donation made by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>71</sup>

**Caucalus (Caucali), Martinus (978)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>72</sup>

**Caucalus (Caucali), Martinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>73</sup> He might be Martinus Caucalus (978).

**Caucaninus (Caucanino), Leo (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Leo is 'de Zeminis'.<sup>74</sup>

**Cavallus (Cavallo), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>75</sup>

**Cavallus (Cavallo), Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Justus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Giorgius Catuni in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>72</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Martinus Caucali dedit colovit [*sic*] tres et iuravit'.

<sup>73</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Martino Caucali consencientis'.

<sup>74</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Leo Caucanino de Zeminis iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>75</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Ioannis Cavallo, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>76</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Justo, filius Dominici Cavallo, iuravit et dedit'.

**Cavallus, Justus (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus. Justus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>77</sup>

**Celsus (Celso) (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>78</sup>

**Celsus Longobardus (Celso Longobardo), Marinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>79</sup>

**Cemballarius, Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Canaledo'.<sup>80</sup>

**Cenibis Cogitanis (Cogitane), Lobana (ref 829)**

In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some vineyards belonging to 'Lobana Cenibis Cogitane de Torcello'.<sup>81</sup> Iubiana is probably the correct name.

**Centranicus, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Justo, filius Dominici Cavallo, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>78</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Celso de Methamaucho dedit et juravit'.

<sup>79</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Marinus Celso Longobardo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>80</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Joannes Cemballarius de Canaledo juravit et dedit mancusios X, et istos X mancusios recepit Martinello'.

<sup>81</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'et vineas qui sunt in suprascriptis Litus (i.e. Litus Bovensis) ... qui fuerunt de Lobana Cenibis Cogitane de Torcello'.

<sup>82</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Centranicus manu mea subscripsi'.

**Centrinicus (Centrinico), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>83</sup>

**Centranicus (Centranico), Petrus (996)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>84</sup>

**Centranicus, Joannes (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>85</sup>

**Centranicus, Petrus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>86</sup>

**Centranicus, Petrus (May 998)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in the May 998 *placitum* held 'in loco, qui dicitur Staphylo' and aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>87</sup> He might be Petrus Centranicus (996) and Petrus Centranicus (February 998).

**Centrinicus, Iohannes; see Centranicus family****Cerbanus, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>88</sup>

**Cerbanus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Centrinico consencientis'.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalicus, Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

<sup>85</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Joannes Centranicus'.

<sup>86</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Petrus Centranicus'.

<sup>87</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis Petro Centranico ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Petroni ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>88</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Cerbani consencientis'.

<sup>89</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Cerbanus'.

**Christoforus (685–717)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Christoforus (798–806)**

*Episcopus* of Olivolo. See the appendix ‘Bishops of Olivolo’.

**Christoforus II (806, 819)**

*Presbyter; plebanus* of St Moysis; *episcopus* of Olivolo. See the appendix ‘Bishops of Olivolo’.

**Christoforus (Christofori), Martinus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius’s rule.<sup>90</sup>

**Christoforus (Christofori), Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II’s rule.<sup>91</sup> He could be Martinus Christoforus (979/991).

**Cigullus (Cigullo), Iohanacenus (ref 829)**

Probably father of Andrea who is mentioned in Duke Iustinianus’s will.<sup>92</sup>

**Cigullus, Andrea (ref 829)**

Probably son of Iohanacenus and either uncle or grandfather of Dominicus. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Andrea. This document reports that Andrea is ‘de Equilo’.<sup>93</sup>

**Cigullus, Dominicus (ref 829)**

Probably nephew or grandson of Andrea. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Dominicus.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: ‘Martinus Christophori dedit et juravit’.

<sup>91</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: ‘Martinus Christophori juravit et dedit’.

<sup>92</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: ‘Idem detinemus per documenti cartulam de Andrea de filio quidem Iohanaceni Cigullo de Equilo et de Dominico nepote eius’.

<sup>93</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: ‘Idem detinemus per documenti cartulam de Andrea de filio quidem Iohanaceni Cigullo de Equilo et de Dominico nepote eius’.

<sup>94</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: ‘Idem detinemus per documenti cartulam de Andrea de filio quidem Iohanaceni Cigullo de Equilo et de Dominico nepote eius’.

**Cipalergius (Cipalergio), Joanna (991/1008)**

Joanna is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that she is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>95</sup>

**Cyprianus (610s–620s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Cyprianus (900)**

*Episcopus*. See the appendix 'Unknown Bishoprics'.

**Cyprianus (Cypriano), Marinus (ref 982)**

Father of Cyprianus who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>96</sup>

**Cyprianus (Cypriano) (982)**

Son of Marinus Cyprianus. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>97</sup>

**Cyprianus, Iannis (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Iohannes Lomgobardus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>98</sup>

**Cyrinus (Cyrino), Marinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>99</sup>

**Cyrinus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joanna Cipalergio de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>96</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Cypriano, filii Marino Cypriano, consencientis'.

<sup>97</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Cypriano, filii Marino Cypriano, consencientis'.

<sup>98</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Iohannes Lomgobardo liberto Iannis Cypriani, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>99</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Marino Cyrino consencientis'.

<sup>100</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Joannes Cyrinus'.

**Clentusius, Agnellus (819)**

In 819, Agnellus witnessed the donation of Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>101</sup>

**Clentusius, Bonus (819)**

In 819, Bonus witnessed the donation of Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>102</sup>

**Cletensius, Petrus (864)**

In 864, he took part in the killing of Duke Petrus. Consequently he was exiled to Constantinople.<sup>103</sup>

**Cliaus, Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Leomanus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>104</sup>

**Cliaus, Leomanus (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus. Leomanus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>105</sup>

**Coloprinus, Stephanus (925, 927)**

In 925 and in 927, on occasion of the renewals of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy, Stephanus acted as legate of the duke of Venice.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Agnellus Clentusius in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>102</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Bonus Clentusius in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>103</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletrus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>104</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Leomano, filius Dominici Cliani, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>105</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Leomano, filius Dominici Cliani, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>106</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 32, 33, pp. 47, 49: 'quia Ursus, Veneticorum dux, per legatos suos, Dominicum scilicet venerabilem Madamaucensem episcopum atque Stephanum Coloprinum ... per legatos suos Iohannem Fabianicum et Stephanum Coloprinum'.

### **Coloprinus (Coloprino), Stephanus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>107</sup>

### **Coloprinus (Coloprino), Stephanus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>108</sup>

### **Coloprinus, Stefanus (982, † c. 983)**

Stefanus, leader of the Coloprini, was the father of Dominicus, Iohannes, and Stefanus. It is likely that he is the Stephanus Coloprinus who appears among the signatories of Duke Petrus Candianus IV's 960 slave trade prohibition, of the same Duke's 971 prohibition against trading with the Muslims, and of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>109</sup> The chronicler John the Deacon narrates that Stefanus tried to eliminate his rivals, the Mauroceni, with the assistance of Duke Tribunus Menius. The attempt failed and only one Maurocenus, Dominicus, was killed.<sup>110</sup> Fearing the vengeance of the Mauroceni, Stefanus left Venice and requested the help of Emperor Otto II. He promised the German sovereign that he would show him how to conquer Venice easily and would give him a considerable sum of money if the emperor would grant him the ducal office. Otto II agreed, and Stefanus and his followers imposed an embargo on Venice with the emperor's assistance. Stefanus and his son Dominicus tried to

<sup>107</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Stephanus Coloprino'. Andrea Castagnetti believes that this Stephanus Coloprinus should be identified with the previous one. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', p. 624.

<sup>108</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Stephanus Coloprino'.

<sup>109</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Stephanus Coloprino manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>110</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 20: 'Temporibus cuius aurea Venetia nonnullis ignominiorum periculis dehonestata est. Contigit autem ut Veneticorum maiores primitus contra ducem insidias demolirentur; deinde inter sese invicem discidentes, vicissim odiorum nequitias inficiebantur. Interea inter Maurecenos et Coloprinos, Venetiae procures, maximum iurgium exortum est, adeo ut Stefanus Coloprinus cum filiorum et parentum afinitate, praedicti ducis consensu et virtute, quadam die in Maurecenos abolendos insurgeret. Sed Dei virtute huius periculi flagitium providi omnes evadendi facultatem consecuti sunt. Unus tantum illorum, id est Dominicus Maureceni, innocens in Sancti Petri Olivolensis foro detentus et diutissimae laceratus est. Cuius corpus, turpiter denudatum, semivivum ad sancti Zachariae monasterium parva lintre delatum est cumque in ecclesia positum a circumstantibus parentibus deploraretur, infra duarum orarum spacia vitalem deposuit halitum. Cuius mors suis maximum dolorem induxit, adeo ut ad hoc scelus ulciscendum oportuna expectarent tempus'.

stop the flow of supplies to Venice through Padua.<sup>111</sup> Upon Otto II's death, Stefanus sought the protection of Empress Adelaide, Otto II's mother. He died in Pavia shortly after the Emperor's death.<sup>112</sup>

### **Coloprinus, Dominicus († c. 983)**

He was the son of Stefanus. He left Venice with his father, who wanted to take possession of the ducal office, and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Dominicus and his father had the task of stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through Padua.<sup>113</sup> After the death of Stefanus Coloprinus, Dominicus and his brothers were allowed to return to Venice where four Mauroceni killed them.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24–25: 'Quem predictus Stefanus Coloprinus una cum duobus filiis et quibusdam parentibus expertus quod Maurecenorum temeritas, ducis videlicet consultu, parentis mortem vellent ulcisci, clam de Venetia exiens, festinanter adire procuravit. Cui imperator valedicens, cur propria amittere voluisse requisivit. Cumque infortuniis viae ventum seriae exponeret, cesari persuasit quod si vellet consiliis monitisque suis acquiescere, Venetiam diu desideratam facili certaminae posset acquirere. Et insuper quo imperatoris animus ad hoc nequissimum perficiendum scelus potius exardesceret, centu libras purissimi auri se illi daturum spopondit, si, devicta patria, sibi ducatus dignitatem concederet. Quod audiens imperator, universis suo sceptrui adiacentibus edictum et inevitabile intulit preceptum ut nemo aliqua presumptione fultus deinceps quemlibet Veneticum in aliquam sui imperii partem permitteret exire, neque aliquis suorum in Venetiam auderet intrare. Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25] Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur.'

<sup>112</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 27: 'Praelibatus quidem Stefanus Coloprinus una cum filiis et ceteris aliis Papiensem urbem adire satagerunt flexisque poplitibus Adheleidam augustam, quae inibi morabatur, exorare incessanter ceperunt, ut inlesi suo conservarentur in regno, quoniam omnibus pene Italiae principibus morte digni ob propriae patriae delationem diiudicati sunt. Tunc repente apud Ticinum mortuo Stefano Coloprino.'

<sup>113</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24–25: 'Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25.] Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur.'

<sup>114</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 28: 'Tribunus vero dux, quamquam invitus, tamen imperatricis iussu et prece gratiam simul et patria illis concessit et insuper, ne ab aliquis inimicorum temere occiderentur, quattuor iuratoribus, sacramentorum fide muniti, securi in patria persisterunt. Maureceni sane taciti hoc totu considerantes, firmiter parentis mortem vindicare decreverant. Quapropter dum quadam die tres fratres, Stefani Coloprini nati, de palatio solito vellent domum parva rate redire, a quattuor Maurecenis interempti, rivoli latices proprio cruore infecerunt. Quorum corpora, a quodam suo homine de limpha sublata, orbate generici atque coniugibus delata sunt; altera vero die in sancti Zachariae monasterio tumulata sunt. Quorum duo laici

### **Coloprinus, Iohannes († c. 983)**

*Clericus.* He was one of Stefanus Coloprinus's sons. Unlike his brothers, Iohannes did not follow his father when he decided to leave Venice and seek Emperor Otto II's assistance in taking possession of the ducal office. The Coloprini were allowed to return to Venice upon their father's death, but Iohannes and his brothers were murdered by four Mauroceni shortly thereafter.<sup>115</sup>

### **Coloprinus, Marinus (983)**

He left Venice with Stefanus Coloprinus, who wanted to become duke of Venice, and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Marinus had the task of stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through Istria.<sup>116</sup>

### **Coloprinus, Stefanus († c. 983)**

He was Stefanus Coloprinus's son. He left Venice with his father, who desired the ducal office, and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Stefanus was responsible for stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through Ravenna.<sup>117</sup> Four Mauroceni killed Stefanus and his brothers after they were allowed to return to Venice following their father's death.<sup>118</sup>

fuerunt, tercius autem, id est Iohannes, clericatus officii sortem gessit. Licet dux ab huiusmodi nefas se immunem redderet, nonnulli tamen eiusdem sceleris eum noxium affirmabant'.

<sup>115</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 28: 'Tribunus vero dux, quamquam invitus, tamen imperatricis iussu et prece gratiam simul et patria illis concessit et insuper, ne ab aliquis inimicorum temere occiderentur, quattuor iuratoribus, sacramentorum fide muniti, securi in patria persisterunt. Maureceni sane taciti hoc totu considerantes, firmiter parentis mortem vindicare decreverant. Quapropter dum quadam die tres fratres, Stefani Coloprini nati, de palatio solito vellent domum parva rate redire, a quattuor Maurecenis interempti, rivoli latices proprio cruore infecerunt. Quorum corpora, a quodam suo homine de limpha sublata, orbate genetrici atque coniugibus delata sunt; altera vero die in sancti Zachariae monasterio tumulata sunt. Quorum duo laici fuerunt, tercius autem, id est Iohannes, clericatus officii sortem gessit. Licet dux ab huiusmodi nefas se immunem redderet, nonnulli tamen eiusdem sceleris eum noxium affirmabant'.

<sup>116</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24–25: 'Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25.] ... Marinus Coloprinus in Istriensi comitatu huiusmodi officium perageret'.

<sup>117</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24–25: 'Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25] ... Ravennam quoque Stefano iuniori, prelibati Stefani filio, ad custodiendum iniungeret'.

<sup>118</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 28: 'Tribunus vero dux, quamquam invitus, tamen imperatricis iussu et prece gratiam simul et patria illis concessit et insuper, ne ab aliquis inimicorum temere occiderentur, quattuor iuratoribus, sacramentorum fide muniti, securi in patria persisterunt. Maureceni sane taciti hoc totu considerantes, firmiter parentis mortem vindicare decreverant.

**Coloprinus, Dominicus (991)**

In 991, he witnessed the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael.<sup>119</sup>

**Coloprinus, Joannes (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>120</sup>

**Concordius (571/579)**

Husband of Nitiana. He and his wife financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>121</sup>

**Constantinus (853)**

*Diaconus; scriba*. In 853, he drew up Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>122</sup>

**Constantinus (Constantino)?, Joannes (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>123</sup>

Quapropter dum quadam die tres fratres, Stefani Coloprini nati, de palatio solito vellent domum parva rate redire, a quattuor Maurecenis interempti, rivoli latices proprio cruore infecerunt. Quorum corpora, a quodam suo homine de limpha sublata, orbate generitrici atque coniugibus delata sunt; altera vero die in sancti Zachariae monasterio tumultata sunt. Quorum duo laici fuerunt, tertius autem, id est Iohannes, clericatus officii sortem gessit. Licet dux ab huiusmodi nefas se immunem redderet, nonnulli tamen eiusdem sceleris eum noxium affirmabant.

<sup>119</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 24: 'Notitia testium ... Dominicus Coloprinus'.

<sup>120</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Joanne Coloprino ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Joannis ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>121</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 242, no. 31: 'Conc[ordi]/us et Niti/ana cum su/is f(ece)r(unt) p(edes) XXV'. Concordianus in Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 301.

<sup>122</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 11: 'Constantinus diaconus, scriba, hunc testamentum complevi et roboravi in omnibus'.

<sup>123</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Ioannes no [sic] Constantino iuravit et dedit'.

**Constantinus (1001 or 1005)<sup>124</sup>**

In 1001 or 1005 he witnessed a donation to the Bishopric of Torcello.<sup>125</sup>

**Custansius (seventh century)**

*Presbiter.* Custantius is mentioned in a funerary inscription located on a sarcophagus.<sup>126</sup>

**Constantius (770/772)**

*Tribunus.* In 770/772, Constantius and the *presbiter* Magnus acted as legates of the Patriarch of Grado, Iohannes, to Pope Stephen III.<sup>127</sup>

**Constantius (979/991)**

*Libertus.* Former slave of Ursus Bragadinus. Constantius is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>128</sup>

**Contarenus (Contareni), Andreas (853)**

In 853, he witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohanis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>125</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 300: 'Notitia testium id est. Constantinus'.

<sup>126</sup> Location: Rovigo, Convent of the Cappuccini. Provenance: Venice, church of the Cappuccini. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 37: 'IC REQUI / ESCET BENEMEMORIUS FAMULOS TUOS CUSTAN / SIUS PECATOR PR(es)B(iter) / CUGUS VITA IN OC SEculo'.

<sup>127</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, p. 49: 'festinavimus una cum consensu sanctorum Dei filio, Mauricio consuli et imperiali duci huius Venetiarum provinciae, presentes viros, humilimos vestros, Magno, presbitero et scriniario nostro, sed et Constantio tribuno, gerolis nostris, quos, quasi praesentialiter domino nostro osculantes vestigia, quaeos commendatos habere'.

<sup>128</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Constantius, liberto Ursi Bragadini, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>129</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 10: 'Andreas Contareni in hunc testamentum rogatus ab eo testis subscripsi'.

**Contarenus (Contareno), Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>130</sup>

**Guntarinus, Iohannes (967)**

In 967, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy/Western Empire, Iohannes Guntarinus and deacon Iohannes acted as legates of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>131</sup> He might be Ioannes Contarenus (960).

**Contarenus (Contareni), Vitalis (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>132</sup>

**Contarenus, Joannis (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>133</sup>

**Cornicula, Felix (738–739)**

*Magister militum*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Corozalus, Leon (880)**

He is one of the signatories of the pact (880) between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus.<sup>134</sup>

**Cosparius, Marinus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>135</sup>

**Cosparius, Leus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Ioannes Contareno'.

<sup>131</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 48, pp. 85–86: 'per nuntios suos Iohannem Guntarinum et alium Iohannem diaconum'.

<sup>132</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Vitalis Contareni consencientis'.

<sup>133</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Joannis Contarenus'.

<sup>134</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Leon Corozali'.

<sup>135</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Marino Cosparii'.

<sup>136</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Lei Cosparii'.

**Costancia (eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)**

Widow of Dominicus; *Domini ancilla*. She is mentioned in an inscription found in the monastery of St Hilarius.<sup>137</sup>

**Crassus, Marinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes Marinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>138</sup>

**Crassus, Joannes Marinus (991/1008)**

Son of Marinus. Joannes Marinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>139</sup>

**Custantius; see Constantius**

<sup>137</sup> Location: Venice, Museo archeologico. Provenance: St Hilarius. Michela Agazzi, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', in *Medioevo*, p. 574, n. 30: '† IN ISTO TV // MOLO RE/ QUIESCIT // COSTANCIA / DEI ANCILLA // RELECTA / QUONDAM DOMINI // CO BNMTRET'. Different reading in Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 30: 'INISTOTU MOLORE / QUIESCIT CONSTANTIA / D(omin)IANCILLA BELECTAM / qd DOMINI DOBNMTRET'. The photo of this inscription can be seen in Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo archeologico di Venezia*, p. 39, no. 25.

<sup>138</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Marinus, filius Marini Crassi, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>139</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Marinus, filius Marini Crassi, juravit et dedit'.

## D

**de Canali, Iohannes (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Martinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>1</sup>

**da Canale, Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>2</sup>

**da Canale, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Andreas, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>3</sup>

**de Canali, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>4</sup>

**de Canali, Vitalis (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Marinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>5</sup>

**da Canale, Andreas (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes. Andreas is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amurianos'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus, liberto Iohanni de Canali, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes, filius Dominici da Canale, de Amuriana iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Andreas, filius Joannis da Canale, de Amurianos iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes, filius Joannis de Canali, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Marinus de Canale de Costanciaca iuravit et dedit libras denariorum septuaginta, filius Vitalis de Canali'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Andreas, filius Joannis da Canale, de Amurianos iuravit et dedit'.

**da Canal, Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Dominicus is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>7</sup>

**de Canali, Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>8</sup>

**da Canale, Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus. Joannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amuriana'.<sup>9</sup>

**de la Canale, Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Joannes is 'de Murianas' and that he has fifty *mansi* 'ad laborem'.<sup>10</sup>

**de Canali, Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>11</sup>

**de Canale, Marinus (991/1008)**

Son of Vitalis. Marinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Costanciaca'.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus da Canal de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Dominicus de Canali dedit propter decimum camisias XXV, legamen de ferro unum'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes, filius Dominici da Canale, de Amuriana juravit et dedit'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes de la Canale de Murianas habet ad laborem mansos L'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes, filius Joannis de Canali, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Marinus de Canale de Costanciaca juravit et dedit libras denariorum septuaginta, filius Vitalis de Canali'.

**da Figario, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>13</sup>

**da Molino, Felix (958)**

Brother of Marinus. In a charter written in 958, it is stated that some saltworks are contiguous to the property of Felix.<sup>14</sup>

**da Molino, Marinus (958)**

Brother of Felix. In a charter written in 958, it is stated that some saltworks are contiguous to the property of Marinus.<sup>15</sup>

**de Mollino, Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>16</sup>

**de Mollino, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>17</sup> He might be Ioannes de Mollino (960).

**da Molino, Leo (ref 998)**

Father of Dominicus who is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>18</sup>

**da Molino, Dominicus (998)**

Son of Leo. Dominicus is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannes da Figario'.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 40, p. 68: 'totas ipsas sallinas uno corpore coniunctas ab uno latere, in alio in Felice da Molino et alio in Marino, fratri suo'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 40, p. 68: 'totas ipsas sallinas uno corpore coniunctas ab uno latere, in alio in Felice da Molino et alio in Marino, fratri suo'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis de Mollino'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis de Mollino'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus filius Leonis da Molino'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus filius Leonis da Molino'.

**de Molino, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>20</sup>

**de Molino, Leo (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>21</sup>

**de Molino, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>22</sup>

**de Mollino, Martinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus 'de Dorsoduro' who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>23</sup>

**de Mollino, Stephanus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Vitalis who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>24</sup>

**da Mollino, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Brother of Martinus. Dominicus and Martinus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>25</sup>

**de Mollino, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Martinus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Dorsoduro'.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus de Molino'.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Leo de Molino, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Petrus de Molino'.

<sup>23</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Martini de Mollino, de Dorsoduro juravit et dedit'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Vitalis, filius Stephani de Mollino, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus da Mollino et Martinus, frater eius, juraverunt et dederunt'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Martini de Mollino, de Dorsoduro juravit et dedit'.

**da Mollino, Martinus (991/1008)**

Brother of Dominicus. Martinus and Dominicus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>27</sup>

**de Mollino, Vitalis (991/1008)**

Son of Stephanus. Vitalis is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>28</sup>

**Dandolus (Dandolo), Ursus (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>29</sup>

**Dandulus (Dandolo), Vitalis (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>30</sup>

**Dandolus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that Dandolus is 'da Corio'.<sup>31</sup>

**Dandolus Lauredanus; see Lauredanus, Dandolus****Daneus (Daneo), Ursus (ref 978/979)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Ioannes Longobardo who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>32</sup>

**Daneus, Joannes (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus da Mollino et Martinus, frater eius, juraverunt et dederunt'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Vitalis, filius Stephani de Mollino, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Urso Dandolo iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>30</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Vitalis Dandolo consencientis'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dandolo da Corio dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Ioannes Longobardo, libertus Urso Daneo, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Joannes Daneus'.

**Daneus (Daneo), Joannes (July 998)**

*Medicus*. In July 998 he took part in the *placitum*, held in Verona, regarding the settlement of the dispute between the bishop of Belluno, and Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>34</sup> He might be Joannes Daneus (February 998).

**da Novale, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>35</sup>

**da Pordo, Ursus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de vico Muriana'.<sup>36</sup>

**Darius (Dario), Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Marinus and Joannes who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>37</sup>

**Darius, Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus and brother of Marinus. Joannes and Marinus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>38</sup>

**Darius, Marinus (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus and brother of Joannes. Marinus and Joannes are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 84, p. 170: 'Joanne venetico, qui Daneo dicitur, medico'.

<sup>35</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici da Novale consencientis'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Urso da Pordo de vico Muriana juravit et dedit libras denariorum 14 et s. 26'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Marinus, filius Dominici Dario, et Joannes, frater eius, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Marinus, filius Dominici Dario, et Joannes, frater eius, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Marinus, filius Dominici Dario, et Joannes, frater eius, juravit et dedit'.

**de Arbore, Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>40</sup>

**de Argele, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>41</sup>

**de Auro, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>42</sup>

**de Auro, Vitalis (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>43</sup>

**de Barina, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>44</sup>

**de Barinos, Ioannes (979/991)**

Brother of Sambatinus. Ioannes and Sambatinus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>45</sup>

**de Barinos, Sambatinus (979/991)**

Brother of Ioannes. Sambatinus and Ioannes are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Dominicus de Arbore iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Joannes de Argele'.

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus de Auro'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Vitalis de Auro'.

<sup>44</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis de Barina conscientis'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Sambatinus et Ioannes, ambo fratres, de Barinos, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Sambatinus et Ioannes, ambo fratres, de Barinos, dedit et iuravit'.

**de Carraria, Dominicus (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>47</sup>

**Decentiana (571/579)**

Probably the daughter of Valerianus and Valeria. Decentiana and her parents state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>48</sup>

**de Drelo, Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amurianas'.<sup>49</sup>

**de Dulcio, Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>50</sup>

**de Dulcio, Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>51</sup>

**de Garbo, Leo (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Dominicus de Carraria juravit et dedit'.

<sup>48</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 251, no. 49: 'Valerianus / et Valeria fil(ia) / cum Decentiana / uot(um) solb(unt)'.

<sup>49</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes de Drelo (*Diedo?*) de Amurianas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannes de Dulcio'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis de Dulcio'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Leo de Garbo, juravit et dedit'.

**de Pantano, Vitalis (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>53</sup>

**de Rivo, Azilus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Petrus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>54</sup>

**de Rivo, Petrus (991/1008)**

Son of Azilus. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Muriana'.<sup>55</sup>

**de Sabulo, Stephanus (864)**

In 864, he took part in the murder of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was killed.<sup>56</sup>

**de Saccogullo, Giorgius (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>57</sup>

**de Succogallo, Leo (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Vitalis de Pantano juravit et dedit'.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus de Rivo, filius Azili, de Muriana, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus de Rivo, filius Azili, de Muriana, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Sed divina clemencia diu noluit inultum hoc pretermittere scelus. In sancti Sixti festivitatie Iohannes Gradonicus cum duobus natis, Stephanus de Sabulo, Iohannes Labresella occisi sunt'.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Giorgio de Saccogullo'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Leonis de Succogallo'.

**de Succucullo, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>59</sup>

**de Succogullo, Barba (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>60</sup>

**de Sucugullo, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>61</sup>

**de Sucugullo, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>62</sup>

**Delphinus; see Dolfinus****Deusdedi (690s–710s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Deusdedi (739–740, 742–755)**

*Magister militum. Dux.* Son of Duke Ursus. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Deusdedi (829)**

*Presbiter et monacus.* In 829, he drew up Duke Iustinianus's will.<sup>63</sup>

**Deusdedi (829)**

*Presbiter.* In his will Duke Iustinianus states that, after his death, the remaining part of his patrimony must be given to his wife and to the *presbiteri* Iustus and

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici de Succucullo'.

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Barba de Succogullo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>61</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici de Sucugullo consensientis'.

<sup>62</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni de Sucugullo consensientis'.

<sup>63</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 19, 24: 'eo Iustinianus imperialis hipatus et dux Venecie provincie... hunc testamentum ac iudicium meum condidi, signarique precepi Deusdedi presbitero ubi et manus mea subter affirmavi ... † Ego Deusdedi peccator presbiter et monacus scripsi et subscripsi'.

Deusdedit.<sup>64</sup> It is not clear whether or not Deusdedit is the *presbiter et monachus* Deusdedi who drew up Duke Iustinianus's will.

### **Deusdedit?<sup>65</sup> (839)**

*Abbas* of the monastery of St Hilarius. In 839 Emperor Lothar confirmed the privileges of St Hilarius to its abbot Deusdedit.<sup>66</sup>

### **Deusdedit (856)**

In 856, he acted as *missus* of Duke Petrus to Emperor Louis II for the renewal of the privileges of the Venetians.<sup>67</sup>

### **Deusdedus (860s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

### **Deusdatus (Deusdato), Bonus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>68</sup>

### **Diesenove, Martinus (979/991)**

Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amorianas'.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 21–23: 'Et post meum quicquid remanserit obitum, comitto Felicitati fidei uxori mee et Iusto et Deusdedit presbiteris ... De eo autem monasterio Sancti Illarii ita volo atque precipio, si ista ordinacio que nunc facta est Deusdedit presbitero stabilita fuerint... Sexaginta argenti libras habeat Deusdedit et Dominici presbiteris, cum quibus aut in monasterio aut ubi sibi placuerit vadant aut disperciant ... † \*\*\* Deusdedit presbiter in mense et inditione super scripta septima.'

<sup>65</sup> It is believed that this document was either forged or interpolated at a later date and that the name of the abbot was invented. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 54, p. 100. Cessi, 'Un falso diploma di Lotario (839) ed il delta di S. Ilario'. Sopracasa, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto', pp. 129–31.

<sup>66</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 3, pp. 25–26: 'Lotharius divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus ... pro firmitatis gratia presentem auctoritatem nostram eiusdem venerabilis abbati nomine Deusdedit fieri iussimus.'

<sup>67</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Bono Deusdato.'

<sup>69</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Martinus Diesenove de Amorianas dedit et iuravit.'

### **Dimitrius (beginning of the ninth century)**

Dimitrius followed Tribune Obellierius and other Venetians, who, opposing Duke Iohannes, left Venice and went to Treviso. There, they elected Obellierius as duke of Venice and subsequently returned to Venice, when they heard that Duke Iohannes had fled.<sup>70</sup>

### **Dimittrius (819)**

*Tribunus; notarius; primicerius* of the ducal chapel? In 819, Dimittrius drew up the donation of Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>71</sup>

### **Dimitrius (ref 982)**

*Magister*. Probably father of Dominicus and Petrus who are among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>72</sup>

### **Diugenia (571/579)**

Likely the wife of *notarius* Paulus. Diugenia and her family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>73</sup>

### **Dodonus (Dodoni), Constantinus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio'.

<sup>71</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 10: 'Quem vero privilegii textum scribere precepimus Dimittrium tribunum notarium nostre capelle primicerium'. It is believed that 'nostre capelle primicerium' is an interpolation. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 171, n. 3. Rando, *Una Chiesa di frontiera*, p. 109, n. 116.

<sup>72</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici, magistri Dimitrii, consencientis ...'.

<sup>73</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 238, no. 23: 'Paulus not(arius) et Diugenia / cum suis / uotum sol/uent'.

<sup>74</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Constantino Dodoni manu mea subscripsi'.

**Dulfinus, Iohannes (991)**

In 991, he witnessed the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael.<sup>75</sup>

**Delphinus, Joannes<sup>1</sup> (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>76</sup>

**Delphinus, Joannes<sup>2</sup> (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>77</sup>

**Dolfinus (Dolfino), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>78</sup>

**Domnicus (571/579)**

*Caligarius*. Husband of Severa. Domnicus and his wife financed fifteen feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>79</sup>

**Dominicus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Dominicus and his relatives state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>80</sup>

**Dominicus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Dominicus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 24: 'Notitia testium ... Iohannes Dulfinus'.

<sup>76</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Joannes Delphinus'.

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Delphinus'.

<sup>78</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Dolfino cum tribus filiis suis iuraverunt, quia avus eorum decimum datum habuisset'.

<sup>79</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 243, no. 33: 'Domnicus caliga/rius cum coniuge / sua Seuera [fecit]/runt pedes [XV]'.

<sup>80</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 223, no. 2: 'Domini/cus notarius / cum suis uo/tum soluet'.

<sup>81</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 250, no. 46: 'Domi/nicus no/tar(ius) uot(um) suluit'. S. Cosentino does not mention him.

**Dominicus († eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)**

Husband of *Domini ancilla* Costancia, mentioned in an inscription found in the monastery of St Hilarius.<sup>82</sup>

**Dominicus (800)**

Abbot of the monastery of St Michael Archangel. In 800 *Dux* (probably of Senigallia) Sergius donated some estates, located in the mainland, to St Michael Archangel.<sup>83</sup>

**Dominicus (ref 825/826)**

Nephew of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II. In 825/826, Emperor Louis the Pious and his son Lothar sent the Patriarch of Grado, Venerius, a letter about the properties Patriarch Fortunatus II had given to his nephew Dominicus.<sup>84</sup>

**Dominicus (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Father of Tribune Iohanaci who witnessed Duke Iustinianus's will.<sup>85</sup>

**Dominicus (829)**

*Presbiter*. In his will Duke Iustinianus gives the priests Dominicus and Deusdedit the task of distributing a portion of his properties.<sup>86</sup>

**Dominicus (early 830s)**

*Episcopus* of Torcello; *monachus*. See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

<sup>82</sup> Location: Venice, Museo archeologico. Provenance: St Hilarius. Agazzi, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', p. 574, n. 30: '† IN ISTO TV // MOLO RE/ QUIESCIT // COSTANCIA / DEI ANCILLA // RELECTA / QUONDAM DOMINI // CO BNMTRET'. Different reading in Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 30: 'INISTOTU MOLORE / QUIESCIT CONSTANTIA / D(omin)IANCILLA BELECTAM / qd DOMINI DOBNMTRET'. The photo of this inscription can be seen in Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali*, p. 39, no. 25.

<sup>83</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 1, p. 13: 'Breve recordacionis facimus nos abbas Dominicus de terra quam Sergius dux dedit pro anima sua in ecclesia Beati Archangeli Michaelis loci Brunduli'.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 47, p. 82: 'de rebus ecclesiae tuae, quas antecessor tuus Fortunatus Dominico nepoti suo dederat'.

<sup>85</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: 'Iohanaci tribuno filius Dominico tribuno'.

<sup>86</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 23: 'Sexaginta argenti libras habeat Deusdedit et Dominici presbiteris, cum quibus aut in monasterio aut ubi sibi placueit vadant aut disperciant'.

**Dominicus (860s–870s)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Olivolo’.

**Dominicus (870s)**

Monk of St Hilarius; abbot of the monastery of Altino; *episcopus* of Torcello. See the appendix ‘Bishops of Altino/Torcello’.

**Dominicus (880)**

*Presbiter; cancellarius*. He drew up the pact (880) between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus.<sup>87</sup>

**Dominicus (891)**

*Presbiter et capellanus* of Duke Petrus Tribunus. In 891, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy, Dominicus acted as one of the legates of Duke Petrus Tribunus.<sup>88</sup>

**Domenicus (ninth century)**

Domenicus is mentioned in an inscription likely made in the church of St Maria and of St Stefano.<sup>89</sup>

**Dominicus (ninth century)**

Dominicus is mentioned along with Iohannis in a fragment of an inscription.<sup>90</sup>

**Dominicus (early tenth century)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Dominicus? (919?)**

*Diaconus, cancellarius, and tabellio*. Probably in 919, Dominicus drew up the sentence in favour of the monastery of St Felix and St Fortunatus.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: ‘Et Dominicus presbiter cancellarius noster scripsit hoc et illud’.

<sup>88</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 22, pp. 30–31: ‘quia Petrus, Venetiarum dux, per legatos suos Dominicum videlicet presbiterum et capellanium suum, Mauricium quoque atque Vitalem, veneticos ...’.

<sup>89</sup> Location: Murano: St Maria and St Donato. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 9: ‘T(emplum) S(an)C(t)E MARIE D(e)I GENETRICIS / ET BEATI ESTEFANI MARTIRI EGO / INDIGNUS ET PECCATUR DOMENICUS T’. The photo of the inscription can be seen in *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 73, no. 111bis.

<sup>90</sup> Location: Torcello, Museo provinciale. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 5: ‘BEATI DANI(eli) / (Dom)INICUS ET IOH(annis)’.

<sup>91</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 46: ‘iussimus scribere Dominicum diaconum, cancellarium, tabellionem nostrum secundum quod dictum est’. Marco Pozza has

**Dominicus (910s, 925)**

*Arcidiaconus* of Metamauco; bishop of Metamauco. See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Dominicus (932)**

In 932, some inhabitants of Justinopolis (Capodistria/Koper), among whom there was a Dominicus *veneticus*, promised to pay a tribute to the duke of Venice every year in order to be able to continue going to Venice peacefully.<sup>92</sup>

**Dominicus II († 930s)**

Bishop of Olivolo. See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Dominicus (960)**

*Presbiter; cancellarius*. In 960 he drew up the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>93</sup>

**Dominicus (967)**

In 967 Dominicus acted as ambassador of Emperor Otto I to the Byzantine Emperor Nicephoros Phocas in *Macedonia*.<sup>94</sup>

**Dominicus († 980)**

*Presbiter*; Dominicus died in 980; he is mentioned in an epigraph placed on a sarcophagus.<sup>95</sup>

**Dominicus (982)**

Bishop. See the appendix 'Unknown Bishoprics'.

recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Marco Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', in *Studi in onore di Cesare Scalton*, pp. 503–12.

<sup>92</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, p. 53: 'Quapropter nos... Dominicus veneticus... cum consensu totius populi nostri et nostra spontanea voluntate legationis istius causa ad vestram presentiam venimus, promittentes nos vobis per omnem annum ...'.

<sup>93</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 74: 'Ego Dominicus, presbiter et cancellarius, ex iussione domini Petri ducis, senioris nostri, complevi et roboravi'.

<sup>94</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, chapter 31: 'obviavitque nobis in Macedonia Dominicus Venedicus, nuntius suus, qui multo labore et sudore nos, ut reverteremur, delusit, iureiurando nobis affirmans nunquam dominum tuum esse id cogitaturum, nedum facturum'.

<sup>95</sup> Inscription; Location: Duomo of Torcello. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, V, H, p. 199: '† In N(omine) D(omi)ni: ann(o) ab inc(arnatione) D(omi)ni DCCCC / LXXX: I(n) huc tumulum requ(i)es(ci)t / Dominicus p(res)b(ite)r ma(gnus) ser(vus) D(ei): vos om(n)es / q(ui) legis orate D(ominu)m p(ro) me peccatore'.

**Dominicus (982)**

*Presbiter*. Dominicus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>96</sup>

**Dominicus (982)**

*Diaconus*. Dominicus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>97</sup>

**Dominicus (982)**

Son of *magister* Dimitrius and probably brother of Petrus. He and Petrus are among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>98</sup>

**Dominicus (982)**

Son of Vitalis. Dominicus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). In this document it is stated that he is 'de Castello'.<sup>99</sup>

**Dominicus (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Petrus Campolus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>100</sup>

**Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Stavilus. He is in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that Dominicus is 'de Aequilo'.<sup>101</sup>

**Dominicus (995)**

*Advocatus* of the monastery of St Zacharias. In 995 Dominicus acted as the *advocatus* of St Zacharias in a *placitum* concerning some estates of the monastery in Monselice.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus, presbiter, voluntarie et sponte manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>97</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus, diaconus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>98</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici, magistri Dimitrii, consencientis'.

<sup>99</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominico, filii Vitali, de Castello consencientis'.

<sup>100</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus, liberto Petro Campolo, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>101</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Stavilo, de Aequilo, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>102</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 72, p. 147: 'ibique in eorum venerunt presencia Johannes presbiter Stanarius et Petrus, item presbiter, officiales beatissimi sancti Zacharie prophete monasterio non multum longe a palacio Rivoalto, in civitate Veneciarum,

**Dominicus (1002)**

*Presbiter.* Dominicus was on the Venetian fleet that liberated Bari from the Muslim siege in September 1002. He left an inscription in a cave of the 'Isolotto del Faro' which is in front of Vieste (Apulia).<sup>103</sup>

**Dominicus (1001 or 1005)<sup>104</sup>**

*Diaconus, notarius.* In 1001 or 1005 he drew up a donation to the Bishopric of Torcello.<sup>105</sup>

**Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Benogonus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Zilio Battano' (= 'de rivo Battario?').<sup>106</sup>

**Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Martinicus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Rivoalto'.<sup>107</sup>

una cum Dominico avvocato, eorum et pars iam dicti monasterii sancti Zacharie.

<sup>103</sup> Ortalli, 'Pietro II Orseolo *Dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum*', p. 26: '† In nomine domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Anno ab incarnationis eius millesimo II, mense Septembris, die III. indictione I, introivit in isto porto dominus Petro, dux Venetiquorum et Dalmatianorum, cum naves C, preparatus ad bellum contra Sarracenos qui sedebant supra Vares — † Et pugnavit cum illis; alii occiderunt, alii in fugam miserunt — † Dominicus presbiter.' The photo and the edition of the inscription can be seen also in Tomaz, *In Adriatico nell'Antichità e nell'alto Medioevo*, p. 468.

<sup>104</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>105</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 300: 'Ego Dominicus diaconus, notarius conplevi et roboravi'.

<sup>106</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Benogoni de Zilio Battano (*de rivo Battario?*), iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>107</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus, filius Martinico, de Rivoalto dedit et iuravit'.

**Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Dominicus is 'de rivo Marini'.<sup>108</sup>

**Dominicus (unknown date)**

Dominicus is mentioned in an inscription located on the apse of the church of St Donato (Murano).<sup>109</sup>

**Domninus (571/579)**

*Vir clarissimus*. Domninus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>110</sup>

**Domnolinus (Domnolino), Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Petrus and Paulus who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>111</sup>

**Domnolinus (Domnolino), Paulus (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus and brother of Petrus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>112</sup>

**Domnolinus (Domnolino), Petrus (979/991)**

Son of Dominicus and brother of Paulus. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus de rivo Marini iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>109</sup> It has been hypothesized that he was a bishop of Torcello. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, v, I, p. 199: 'T(emplum) s(an)c(t)e Marie D(e)i Genetricis et beati Estefani Martiri ego indignus et peccatur Dominicus t(orcellanus episcopus?)'.

<sup>110</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 245, no. 35: 'Domninus u(ir) c(larissimus), / seruus Tu/us Tibi ser/uiens, / uotum / sol/ui/t'.

<sup>111</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Petrus, filius Dominici Domnolino, post obitum patris sui dedit et iuravit tam pro se quam pro Paulo fratre suo'.

<sup>112</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Petrus, filius Dominici Domnolino, post obitum patris sui dedit et iuravit tam pro se quam pro Paulo fratre suo'.

<sup>113</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Petrus, filius Dominici Domnolino, post obitum patris sui dedit et iuravit tam pro se quam pro Paulo fratre suo'.

**[Dom]nus (ref 571/579)**

Father of Laurentius, *miles de numero Tarvisiano*, who financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>114</sup>

**Donatus (717–720s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Donatus (ninth century)**

Donatus is mentioned in an epigraph found at the monastery of St Hilarius.<sup>115</sup>

**Donatus, Ioannes (991/1008)**

Brother of Petrus 'de Gemino' and cousin of Joannes. Ioannes and his brother and cousin are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule.<sup>116</sup>

**Donatus (Donato), Petrus (991/1008)**

Brother of Ioannes and cousin of Joannes. Petrus and his brother and cousin are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Petrus is 'de Gemino'.<sup>117</sup>

**Dondus (Dondi), Petrus (991/1008)**

Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amianas'.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 244, no. 34: 'Lauren/tius mi/lis de n[umero] / Taruis[iano et] / filius [Dom]ni (?) fec[it p(edes) XXV]'. S. Cosentino does not mention him.

<sup>115</sup> Location: Venice, Museo archeologico. Provenance: St Hilarius. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 28: '(Don)ATUS ET . . S . . LIVS'. The photo of this inscription can be seen in Polacco, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali*, p. 27, no. 12.

<sup>116</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus Donato de Gemino iuravit per testes quod parentes sui decimum dederunt, et iuravit; et Ioannes, frater eius, et Joannes, consobrinus eius, simul probaverunt et iuraverunt'.

<sup>117</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus Donato de Gemino iuravit per testes quod parentes sui decimum dederunt, et iuravit; et Ioannes, frater eius, et Joannes, consobrinus eius, simul probaverunt et iuraverunt'.

<sup>118</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Petrus Dondi de Amianas iuravit et dedit'.

**Dorotheus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>119</sup>

**Dulcis (Dulce), Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Ioannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Dorotheus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>120</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes, libertus Dominici Dulce, dedit et juravit'.

## E

### **Eliadus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>1</sup>

### **Emerius (579)**

*Presbiter provincialis*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>2</sup>

### **Emilianus (740s–750s)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

### **Emilianus, Vitalis (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>3</sup>

### **Emmus (Emmo) (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Ursus Bragadinus. Emmus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius’s rule.<sup>4</sup>

### **Entius; see Hentius**

### **Epyphanius (beginning of the seventh century)**

*Primicerius notariorum. Patriarcha*. See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: ‘Dominicus Eliadus’.

<sup>2</sup> Only John the Deacon defines Emerius ‘presbyter provincialis’. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 11: ‘subter manibus suis conscripserunt ... Emerius presbyter provinciales’. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: ‘Emerius, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi’.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: ‘Vitalis Emilianus’.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: ‘Emmo, liberto Urso Bragadini, dedit et juravit’.

**Etillarius (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>5</sup>

**Eufimia (fifth/sixth century)**

Probably the wife of Malchus. Eufimia, Malchus and their relatives state that they fulfilled their vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>6</sup>

**Eugenia (571/579)**

Eugenia and Valeriana state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>7</sup>

**[Euph]imius or [Eut]imius (sixth century)**

He and his relatives financed seventy feet of the mosaic floor of the basilica of Equilo.<sup>8</sup>

**Eusebia (571/579)**

The *famuli* of St Eufemia Eusebia, Nonnus, Petrus, and Iohannes financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Etillarii'.

<sup>6</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 206, no. 6: 'Malchus / et Eufimia / cum suis uo/tum soluent'.

<sup>7</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 252, no. 50: '... Valeriana / cum Eugenia / uotum solbunt'.

<sup>8</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 111, no. 9: '[Euph- or Eut]imiu/s cum sui/s de dono Dei f(ecit) p(edes) LXX'.

<sup>9</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 224, no. 5: 'Famuli [s(an)c(t)ae] / ma[rtyris] / Eu[femiae] / Nonnus [et Eu]sebi[a], Petrus / et Ioha[n]nes, / pro salute / sua et omnium / suorum ex [u]ot(o) suo f(ece)r(unt) [p(edes) C]'. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 18, 424, hypothesizes that Eusebia is the wife of Nonnus. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, I, p. 690, believes that Nonnus, Petrus, and Iohannes are Eusebia's sons.

## F

**Fabianicus, Iohannes (927)**

In 927, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy, Iohannes acted as legate of the duke of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

**Fabriacus, Iohannes (741–742)**

*Magister militum*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Faletrus (ref 864)**

Father of Dominicus, who took part in the killing of Duke Petrus in 864.<sup>2</sup>

**Faletrus, Dominicus (864)**

Son of Faletrus. In 864, he took part in the killing of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was exiled to Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

**Faletrus (Faletro), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>4</sup>

**Faletrus (Faletro), Joannes (991/1008)**

*Calderarius*. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II’s rule.<sup>5</sup>

**Falletrus, Petrus († 1001 or 1005)<sup>6</sup>**

Father-in-law of Iohannes Stornadus. Petrus died in 1001/1005 or shortly before, because at that time his son-in-law stated that, following the last wishes

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 33, p. 49: ‘per legatos suos Iohannem Fabianicum et Stephanum Coloprinum’.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: ‘Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: ... Dominicus Faletri filius’.

<sup>3</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: ‘Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: ... Dominicus Faletri filius ... Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletrus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt’.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: ‘Ego Ioannes Faletro’.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: ‘Joannes Faletro calderario iuravit et dedit’.

<sup>6</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: ‘In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu

of Petrus Falletrus, he donated three wheels of the mill 'de Folenicus', the *pan-tanus* where the latter was located, and some estates in 'Litus Bovensis', 'Rivo da Nassa', 'Luvinio', and 'Septe Salaria' to the bishopric of Torcello for the soul of Petrus Falletrus.<sup>7</sup>

### **Felicia (second half of ninth century)**

Daughter of Duke Ursus II. Her father gave her in marriage to Rodoaldus, son of the Duke of Bologna, Iohannes.<sup>8</sup>

### **Felicitas (829)**

Wife of Duke Iustinianus. In his will Iustinianus names Felicitas and his daughter-in-law Romana his heirs.<sup>9</sup>

Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according to the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>7</sup> Information mentioned in a document written in 1301. *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'Quapropter ego quidem Iohannes Stornado qui fui fidecommissarius Petro Falletro socero meo cum meis heredibus ab hodierna die ob divino amore et remedio anime predicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro seu et pro parentorum eius anime indulgencie a presenti die damus, donamus atque offerimus in episcopatu sancte genitricis Dei et virginis Marie sede sancte Altinatis ecclesie seu et vobis domino Valerio venerabili episcopo et a vestris successoribus de ipso aquimolo de Folenicus rodas tres macenante cum suo pantano qui fuit imadicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro que ille largivit per suam cartam testamenti in iamdicto Dei episcopatu et ipsas terrenas de Litus Bovensis cum aucellatione et piscatione sua qui dicitur ipsas terrenas Rivo da Nassa seu toto Luvinio cum aucellatione et piscatione sua atque damus et offerimus similiter ipsas terrenas de Septe Salaria qui fuit Vitalis Senatori cum aucellatione et piscatione sua omnia ex omnibus sicut ab auctoribus et proauctoribus et a prefato Petro comisso nostro possessum fuit'.

<sup>8</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'suamque filiam, nomine Feliciam, Rodoaldo Iohannis ducis Bononię filio in coniugium tradidit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 19: 'Vos vero Felicitate, uxore mea et Romana nurem meam heredes michi instituo, heredesque meas esse volo in mea hac pro filii mei hereditatem in ternas uncias principales in integro ...'.

**Felex (fifth/sixth century)**

Felex and his relatives financed twenty feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>10</sup>

**Felix (beginning of the ninth century)**

*Tribunus.* Felix followed Tribune Obellierius and other Venetians, who, opposing Duke Iohannes, left Venice and went to Treviso. There, they elected Obellierius as duke of Venice and subsequently returned to Venice, when they heard that Duke Iohannes had fled.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that he is the same *tribunus* Felix, who Beatus, Duke Obellierius's brother, later brought to Constantinople. Felix was exiled there, possibly because he disagreed with Duke Obellierius's policies.<sup>12</sup>

**Felix (876)**

Bishop of Metamauco. See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Felis (ninth century)**

Bishop. See the appendix 'Unknown Bishoprics'.

**Felix (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>13</sup>

**Feolus (Feolo), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 203, no. 1: 'Felex c/um suis / fecit p(edes) XX'.

<sup>11</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio'.

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Obellierius siquidem dux per Nicetam patricium spatharii honorem suscepit. Beatus vero, frater eius, cum predicto Niceta Constantinopolim ivit secumque deferens Veneticorum obsides et Christoforum episcopum et Felicem tribunum, quos augustus exilio dampnavit'.

<sup>13</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Felix manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici Feolo'.

**Figotus (Figoti), Petrus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>15</sup>

**Filorencius (Filorencio), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>16</sup>

**Fiolarius (Fiolario), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>17</sup>

**[Firmi]nus (571/579)**

Either *Cubicularius* or *chartularius*. Firminus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>18</sup>

**Flabianicus, Petrus (864)**

In 864, he took part in the killing of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was exiled to Constantinople.<sup>19</sup>

**Flavianicus, Dominicus Laurentius (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Petrus Figoti dedit et juravit'.

<sup>16</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Filorencio manu mea subscripsi'. In the previous edition of this document the family name of this person is 'Florencius'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 61, p. 119.

<sup>17</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominico Fiolario consencientis'.

<sup>18</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 247, no. 39: '[Firmi] nus (?) / [cubicu]lari/[us cum] suis / uotum / soluit'. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Firminus was either a *cubicularius* or a *chartularius*. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 463.

<sup>19</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletrus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Laurentius Flavianicus'.

**Flabianus, Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>21</sup>

**Flabianus (Flabiano), Ioannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>22</sup>

**Flabianus (Flabiano), Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>23</sup>

**Flabianus (Flabiano), Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>24</sup>

**Flabianus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>25</sup>

**Flamolanus, Stephanus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>26</sup>

**Flamolanus, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Stephanus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus Dominici Flabiani'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Ioannes Flabiano'.

<sup>23</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Flabiano consencientis'.

<sup>24</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Flabiano consencientis'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus Flabianus'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Stephani Flamolani, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Stephani Flamolani, iuravit et dedit'.

**Flavianicus; see Flabianicus****Florentius, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>28</sup>

**Florentius (Florentio), Petrus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>29</sup>

**Florencius (Florencio), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>30</sup>

**Florentius (Florentio), Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Restaldus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>31</sup>

**Florentius, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>32</sup>

**Florentius, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>33</sup>

**Florentius, Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amuriana'.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Dominicus Florentius'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Petrus Florentio'.

<sup>30</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Florencio manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Restaldo, liberto Dominico Florentio, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Petrus Florentius'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes, filius Joannis Florentio, de Amuriana dedit et juravit'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes, filius Joannis Florentio, de Amuriana dedit et juravit'.

**Flosmarius (Flosmario), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>35</sup>

**Formosus (Formosi), Petrus (978)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>36</sup>

**Fortunatus (627)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Fortunatus II (802/803–820s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Franchanicus, Felix (ref 979/991)**

Father of Sambatinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>37</sup>

**Franchanicus, Gregorius (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>38</sup>

**Franchanicus, Sambattinus (979/991)**

Son of Felix. Sambattinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Joannes Flosmario juravit et dedit'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Petro Formosi dedit viginti scaramangias et quadragintas modia de calcina et juravit'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Sambattinus, filius Felix Franchanicus, de Methamaucho, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Gregorius Franchanicus dedit et juravit'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Sambattinus, filius Felix Franchanicus, de Methamaucho, dedit et juravit'.

**Franchus, Aurius (991/1008)**

Aurius is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>40</sup>

**Franchus (Francho), Sambatinus (991/1008)**

Sambatinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>41</sup>

**Frincius (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>42</sup>

**Fumaria, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>43</sup>

**Fumaria, Petrus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>44</sup>

**Fumaria, Leo (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>45</sup>

**Fundacinus (Fundacino), Martinus (982)**

*Presbiter*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Aurius Franchus de Methamauco juravit et dedit decimum'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Sambatinus Francho de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus Frincii'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Ioannis Fumaria'.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Petri Fumaria'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Leo Fumaria dedit et juravit'.

<sup>46</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Martinus presbiter Fundacino manu mea subscripsi'.

**Fundonus, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>47</sup>

**Fundonus, Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>48</sup>

**Fundonus, Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>49</sup>

**Fuscharenius (Fuschareno), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>50</sup>

**Fuscharus (Fuschari), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>51</sup>

**Fuschellus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>52</sup>

**Fuschellus, Petrus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Julianus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Fundoni consencientis'.

<sup>48</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Fundoni consencientis'.

<sup>49</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Fundoni consencientis'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Joannes Fuschareno iuravit et dedit libras XIII'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Fuschari'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici Fuschelli, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Julianus, filius Petri Fuschelli, iuravit et dedit'.

**Fuschellus, Julianus (991/1008)**

Son of Petrus. Julianus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>54</sup>

**Fuschus (Fuscho), Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes and Dominicus, who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>55</sup>

**Fuschus, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes and brother of Joannes. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amorianas'.<sup>56</sup>

**Fuschus, Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes and brother of Dominicus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de vico Amurianas'.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Julianus, filius Petri Fuschelli, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, pp. 141 and 144: 'Dominicus, filius Joannis Fuscho, de Amorianas dedit et juravit ... Joannes, filius Joannis Fuscho, de vico Amurianas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus, filius Joannis Fuscho, de Amorianas dedit et juravit'.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Joannes, filius Joannis Fuscho, de vico Amurianas juravit et dedit'.

## G

**Gabrielis, Vitalis (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>1</sup>

**Gaianicus, Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>2</sup>

**Gayranus (Gayrano), Ioannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>3</sup>

**Galla (755–756)**

*Dux.* See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Galliardus (Galliardo), Ioannes (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>4</sup>

**Gambarus (Gambaro), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Vitalis Gabrielis juravit et dedit'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Gaianicus dedit et juravit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Ioannes Gayrano juravit et dedit'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Ioannes Galliardo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes Gambaro dedit et juravit'.

**Gambasyrica, Georgius (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>6</sup>

**Gambasyrica, Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Georgius. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Constanciaco'.<sup>7</sup>

**Gatilesus?, Petrus (982)**

*Diaconus*. He witnessed the foundation of the monastery of St George (982).<sup>8</sup>

**Gatulus (Gatulo) (ref 829)**

Father of the nuns Maria and Steffana, who are mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will. In this document it is stated that Gatulus is 'de Equilo',<sup>9</sup>

**Gaudarius (Gaudario), Leo (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>10</sup>

**Gazeus (571/579)**

*Diaconus*. Son of Bona. Gazeus and his mother state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Georgii Gambasyrica, de Constanciaco dedit et juravit'.

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Georgii Gambasyrica, de Constanciaco dedit et juravit'.

<sup>8</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus, diaconus et Gat[ile]sus manu mea subscripsi'. Different reading of the text in *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 61, p. 118: 'Petrus, diaconus et gr[ma]t[i]cus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>9</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Detinemus per documenti cartulam de Maria et Steffana Christi famulas et germanas filia quidem Gatulo de suprascripto vico (*Equilo*)'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Leonis Gaudario'.

<sup>11</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 253, no. 53: 'Gazeus diaco/nus cum matre / sua Bona uot(um) / soluit'.

### Georgius (sixth century)

*Oloseri[cus or coprata]* = a merchant of silk textiles. He probably financed a part of the mosaic floor of Equilo's basilica.<sup>12</sup>

### Georgius (826)

*Presbiter*. In 826, Georgius went to Emperor Louis the Pious in Mainz claiming that he could make an organ. The emperor sent him to Aachen and ordered that Georgius receive everything he needed to construct the instrument.<sup>13</sup> Georgius later became *rector* of the monastery of St Salvius, located near the city of Valenciennes. The biographer of Charlemagne, Einhard, narrates that he met him at Aachen, gave him the relics of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Peter, and that Georgius sent the Frankish author an account of the miracles performed thanks to those relics.<sup>14</sup>

### Georgius (or Gregorius) (late 890s)

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

### Georgius (959)

*Diaconus*. Georgius went to the Kingdom of Italy with the future Duke of Venice Petrus Candianus IV in 959 when the latter was expelled from Venice for opposing his father, the Duke of Venice, Petrus Candianus III.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 109, no. 6: 'Georgius (?) O/loseri[cus ... (?)]/[.....] / f(ecit or -erunt) p(edes) [...]': (Olosericoprata in Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 36).

<sup>13</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 826, p. 170: 'Venit cum Baldrico presbyter quidam de Venetia nomine Georgius, qui se organum facere posse adserebat; quem imperator Aquasgrani cum Thancolfo sacellario misit et, ut ei omnia ad id instrumentum efficiendum necessaria praeberentur, imperavit'.

<sup>14</sup> Einhard, *Translatio et miracula Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, pp. 258, 260, chapters 8, 11: 'Nunc ad eas virtutes veniendum est quae in his locis factae sunt, ad quae, religiosi viri petentibus ac me largiente, venerandae eorundem martyrum reliquiae venerunt et in quibus hactenus cum magna reverentia coluntur. Quas primus omnium Georgius presbiter et rector monasterii Sancti Salvii martyris, quod in pago Fanomartense in vico Valentianas appellato in ripa Scaldis fluvii situm est, me dante, suscepit et per quondam diaconum ad memoratum monasterium de Aquense palatio destinavit ... Haec sunt miracula atque virtutes, quas dominus Ihesus Christus per merita sanctorum martyrum suorum Marcellini et Petri in vico Valentianas ad salutem humani generis operari dignatus est; quae memoratus Georgius presbyter brevi libello collecta nobis mittere curavit et nos huic operi nostro censuimus inserenda. Hic est Georgius Veneticus, qui de patria sua ad imperatorem venit et in Aquense palatio organum, quod Graece hydraulica vocatur, mirifica arte composuit'.

<sup>15</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 9: 'Is autem Petrus, qui patria pulsus fuerat, comitante illo

**Georgius (Georgio), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Metamauco'.<sup>16</sup>

**Germanus (Germano), Ursus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>17</sup>

**Gyslibertus/Jngelbertus (900)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Gisolus (Gisolo), Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>18</sup>

**Godicus (Godico), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>19</sup>

**Golla Pellosus (Peloso), Martinus (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>20</sup>

Georgio diacono et Gregorio quodam presbitero una cum duodecim propriis servis ad Hwidonem marchionem, Berengarii regis filium, pervenit.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus Georgio de Metamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Urso Germano juravit et dedit'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Martinus Gisolo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Dominici Godico'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Martino Golla Peloso juravit et dedit'.

**Gulla Pellofus (Pelloso) (ref 991/1008)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Jannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>21</sup>

**Gombarus (Gombari), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>22</sup>

**Gradonicus, Iohannes (864)**

In 864, he took part in the murder of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was killed.<sup>23</sup>

**Gradonicus, Johannes (900)**

He is one of the signatories of the charter with which in 900 Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>24</sup>

**Gradonicus (Gradonico), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>25</sup>

**Gradonicus, Iohannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Jannes, libertus Gulla Pelloso, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus Gombari juravit et dedit'.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 1: 'Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: Iohannes Gradonicus cum quodam suo nepote ... Sed divina clemencia diu noluit inultum hoc pretermittere scelus. In sancti Sixti festivitate Iohannes Gradonicus cum duobus natis, Stephanus de Sabulo, Iohannes Labresella occisi sunt'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ego Johannes Gradonicus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Gradonico'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Iohannes Gradonicus'.

**Gradonicus, Iohannes (976)**

After the murder of Duke Petrus Candianus IV and his son, Iohannes Gradonicus had their bodies moved from the *forum macelli* to the monastery of St Hilarius. John the Deacon calls him *vir sanctissimus*.<sup>27</sup>

**Gradonicus, Iohannes (978)**

In 978, he left Venice with Duke Petrus Ursoylus and Iohannes Maurocenus and went with them to the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà where they all became monks.<sup>28</sup> The fact that Peter Damiani defines Iohannes Gradonicus as ‘familiaris’ of Petrus Ursoylus might suggest that Iohannes was related to the Venetian duke.<sup>29</sup> He could be Iohannes Gradonicus (976).

**Gradonicus (Gradonico), Iohannes (or Dominicus)  
(978/979 or a few years before this period)**

Husband of Duke Vitalis Candianus’s sister, whose name is unknown, and father of Dominicus and Trionessa. In 978/979, Iohannes (or Dominicus) bought a mill, located in ‘loco qui dicitur Primiga et Corbulo et Tercio Corolla’ from Duke Vitalis Candianus.<sup>30</sup> In the charter recording the sale, he is called

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 13: ‘Gelida namque corpora quorum, id est genitoris et sobolis, ob ignominiam primitus exigua nave ad macelli forum, deinde, quodam sanctissimo viro, Iohanne Gradonico nomine, interpellante, ad sancti Yllari monasterium detulerunt’.

<sup>28</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 18: ‘Quem Petrus dux libenter suscepit et prima nocte dici kalendarum septembriarum ipse unam cum Iohanne Gradonico, nec non Iohanne Maureceni, suo videlicet genero, nesciente uxore et filio omnibusque fidelibus, occulte de Venetia exierunt. Qui non procul a sancti Illarii monasterio equos assedentes, iam detonsis barbis velocissimo cursu viam carpere ceperunt, in tantum ut tertia die’. *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 11: ‘Secuti sunt cum tres ex optimatibus suae regionis, Iohannes cognomento Maurosenus, gener ejus, & Iohannes Gradinicus, & Romaldus’.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v, p. 25: ‘Ipse autem post coniugem remanens, his de suis thesauris, que sibi videbantur, ablatis, cum quodam suo familiari, Iohannem scilicet Grandenico, qui prefate coniurationis conscius fuerat, et cum tribus illis beatis viris quos preposuimus navem ascendit, deinde Galliam ad monasterium abbatis Guarini magnus conversus aufugit. Petro igitur et Iohanne monachis in sancti Michaelis cenobio factis’. For further information about his life as a monk, see Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapters. VI, XII, XV, pp. 26, 33–34, 37–38.

<sup>30</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: ‘imperantibus Vassillio et Constantino fratribus filliis quondam Romani ... Trionessa filia quondam domni Iohannis Gradonico ... fideicommissaria Dominici defuncti et fratris sui... unum aquimollum cum duabus rotis factis et fabricatis insimul macinantibus, positum in loco qui dicitur Primiga et Corbulo et Tercio Corolla, qui omnes tres loci in unum convertuntur locum, que quidem omnia Dominicus pater eius comparavit a Vitali Candiano cognato suo, avunculo suo ... de aquimollo Dominico filio dompni prelibati Vitalis

both Iohannes and Dominicus. Dominicus is probably a mistake made by a copyist.<sup>31</sup>

**Gradonicus, Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>32</sup>

**Gradonicus (Gradonico), Marinus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Adalbertus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>33</sup>

**Gradonicus (Gradonico), Petrus (996)**

He was one of several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno. It is likely that he is the same Petrus Gradonicus, who in May of that year asked Otto III to give the Venetians some trade privileges in the Kingdom of Italy on behalf of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>34</sup>

**Gradonicus, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>35</sup> He might be Petrus Gradonicus (996).

**Gradonicus, Dominicus (c. 996; 1000; 1007/1008)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Gradonicus, Dominicus (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Son of Iohannes (or Dominicus) (978/979) and brother of Trionessa. Dominicus is mentioned in a charter dated to the end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>36</sup>

Candiano duci.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *S. Lorenzo*, p. 117, no. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Gradonicus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Adalberto, liberto Marino Gradonico, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 75, p. 153: 'per suos nuntios Petrum Gradonicum et Iohannem diaconum'.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Petrus Gradonicus'.

<sup>36</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: 'imperantibus Vassillio et Constantino fratribus filliis quondam Romani ... Trionessa filia quondam domni Iohannis Gradonico ... fideicommissaria Dominici defuncti et fratris sui ... que quidem omnia Dominicus pater eius comparavit a Vitali

**Gradonicus, Trionessa (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

*Monacha* of the monastery of St Laurentius. Daughter of Iohannes (or Dominicus) (978/979) and sister of Dominicus. As executor of her brother's will, Trionessa donated a mill to the monastery of St Laurentius.<sup>37</sup>

**Grandus (Grandi), Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>38</sup>

**Granzarolus (Granzarolo), Joannes (880)**

He witnessed the pact between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in 880.<sup>39</sup>

**Grassus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>40</sup>

**Gratiosus (Gratioso), Petrus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>41</sup>

Candiano cognato suo'.

<sup>37</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: 'imperantibus Vassillio et Constantino fratribus filliis quondam Romani ... Trionessa filia quondam domni Iohannis Gradonico monacha monasterii Sancti Laurencii, de voluntate et consensu domne Petronie venerabilis abbatisse sue et dicti loci fideicommissaria Dominici defuncti et fratris sui, pro illius amore et in remedio anime sue dedit et optullit in eodem Dei sancto zenobio ad perpetualiter possidendum super totum unum aquimollum ... que quidem omnia Dominicus pater eius comparavit a Vitali Candiano cognato suo'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Grandi'.

<sup>39</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Joannis Granzarolo'.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Grassus'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Petri Gratioso, dedit et iuravit'.

**Gratiosus, Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Petrus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>42</sup>

**Graussonus, Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>43</sup>

**Grausonus (Grausoni), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>44</sup>

**Greculus (Grecculo), Ioannes (979/991)**

*Carbonarius*. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>45</sup>

**Greculus (Greculo), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>46</sup>

**Grecus (Greco), Vitalis (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>47</sup>

**Greccus (Grecco), Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Petri Gratioso, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Petri Graussoni'.

<sup>44</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Grausoni manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Ioannes Grecculo carbonario dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Grecculo dedit duas libras, quas dedimus Petro diacono propter papie[n]ses denarios, quos Joannes diaconus habuit Romae propter expensam'.

<sup>47</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Vitalis Greco consencientis'.

<sup>48</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus Grecco dedit et iuravit'.

**Greccus (Grecco), Io[hannes] (ref 979/991)**

Father of Michael, *libertus* Martinus's former owner. Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>49</sup>

**Greccus (Grecco), Michael (ref 979/991)**

Son of Io[hannes]. Michael was the former owner of the *libertus* Martinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>50</sup>

**Gregorius (Gregorii), Fuscarus (beginning of the ninth century)**

Fuscarus followed Tribune Obellierius and other Venetians, who, opposing Duke Iohannes, left Venice and went to Treviso. There, they elected Obellierius as duke of Venice and subsequently returned to Venice, when they heard that Duke Iohannes had fled.<sup>51</sup>

**Gregorius (959)**

*Presbiter*. Gregorius went to the Kingdom of Italy with the future Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 959 when the latter was expelled from Venice for opposing his father, the Duke of Venice, Petrus Candianus III.<sup>52</sup>

**Gretolus, Iohannes (991)**

In 991, he witnessed the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael Archangel.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus, libertus Michaelis, filii Io. Grecco, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus, libertus Michaelis, filii Io. Grecco, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>51</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarus Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio'.

<sup>52</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 9: 'Is autem Petrus, qui patria pulsus fuerat, comitante illo Georgio diacono et Gregorio quodam presbitero una cum duodecim propriis servis ad Hwidonem marchionem, Berengarii regis filium, pervenit'.

<sup>53</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 24: 'Notitia testium ... Iohannes Gretolus'.

**Grossonus, Albertus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Ciprianus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>54</sup>

**Grossonus, Ciprianus (991/1008)**

Son of Albertus. Ciprianus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>55</sup>

**Grugnarius, Ursus (864)**

In 864, he took part in the murder of Duke Petrus. The chronicler John the Deacon narrates that Ursus 'died tormented by a demon' shortly after.<sup>56</sup>

**Grurus, Deusdedus (834/835)**

Deusdedus was one of the supporters of tribunus Carosus, who in 834/835 overthrew Duke Iohannes II and took possession of the ducal office. Shortly after, Carosus was deposed and Deusdedus Grurus was killed.<sup>57</sup>

**Guderit (571/579)**

Guderit and his relatives financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>58</sup>

**Gulla Pellosus; see Golla Pellosus****Guntarinus, Iohannes; see Contarenus, Iohannes**

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II., no. 70, p. 143: 'Ciprianus, filius Alberti Grossoni, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II., no. 70, p. 143: 'Ciprianus, filius Alberti Grossoni, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Nomina nempe homicidarum, qui hoc facinus peregerunt, hec sunt: Iohannes Gradonicus cum quodam suo nepote, Petrus Stephani Candiani filius et Stephanus de Sabulo, Dominicus Faletri filius, Ursus Grugnarius ... Tamen unus illorum, qui apud Veneciam remansit, id est Ursus Grugnarius, a demonio conquasatus expiravit'.

<sup>57</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio retrusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt'.

<sup>58</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 233–34, no. 14: 'Guderit / cum / suis fecit / pedes / XXV'.

## H

### **Heliadus, Ioannacenus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>1</sup>

### **Heliadus (Heliadi), Petrus (978/979)**

Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>2</sup>

### **Haelia (571/579)**

Son of Antonina and lector Amara and brother of Mellita. Haelia and his family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>3</sup>

### **Helya/Helias (570s–580s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

### **Helias? (853)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

### **Helias (991/1008)**

*Libertus* of Staphilus. Helias is in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Equilo',<sup>4</sup>

### **Hellarus (Hellaro), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannaceni Heliadi'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Petrus Heliadi de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 224, no. 4: 'Amara [lec(tor)] / et Antoni[na] / cum filiis [suis] / Haelia e[st] Mel[li]/ta uotu[m] / soluent'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Helias, libertus Staphili, de Equilo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>5</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Hellaro consencientis'.

**Hentius (Hentio), Iohannes (ref 982)**

Father of Hentius who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>6</sup>

**Hentius (Hentio) (982)**

Son of Iohannes. Hentius is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>7</sup>

**Entius (Entio), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>8</sup>

**Entius, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>9</sup>

**Hyeremias (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus. Hyeremias is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>10</sup>

**Honestus (Honesto) (979/991)**

Honestus is in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Hentio, filii Iohanni Hentio, consencientis'.

<sup>7</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Hentio, filii Iohanni Hentio, consencientis'.

<sup>8</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Entio consencientis'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Entius'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Hyeremias, liberto Petri Urseolo ducis, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Honesto de Methamauco dedit et iuravit'.

**Honoratus (fifth/sixth century)**

Honoratus and his relatives financed sixty feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>12</sup>

**Honoratus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)**

Honoratus and his relatives financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>13</sup>

**Honoratus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)**

He states he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>14</sup>

**Honoratus (710s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Hugarda Tencha, Martinus (979/991)**

Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>15</sup>

**Huillarenus (Huillareni), Dominicus (ref 1001 or 1005)<sup>16</sup>**

Brother of Trunus. In 1001 or 1005 he and his brother witnessed a donation to the Bishopric of Torcello.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 206, no. 5: 'Honoratus / cum suis fe/cet pedes LX'.

<sup>13</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 236, no. 18: 'Honora/tus cum / suis fe/cet pe/des XXV'.

<sup>14</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 247, no. 40: 'Ho[noratus] / u[otum] / s[oluit]'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus Hugarda Tencha de Methamaucho dedit et juravit'.

<sup>16</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according to the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>17</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 300: 'Notitia testium id est... Dominicus Huillareni. Truno frater eius'.

**Huillarenus (Huillareni), Trunus (Truno, probably = Tribuno)  
(1001 or 1005)<sup>18</sup>**

Brother of Dominicus. In 1001 or 1005 he and his brother witnessed a donation to the Bishopric of Torcello.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohanis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>19</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 300: 'Notitia testium id est ... Dominicus Huillareni. Truno frater eius'.

## I

**Yllarus, Petrus (991)**

In 991, he witnessed the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael Archangel.<sup>1</sup>

**Jngelbertus; see Gyslibertus****Iohanna (571/579)**

Iohanna and probably either her mother or father financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>2</sup>

**Iohannacenus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

**Iohannaci (end of the eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)**

*Presbiter*. In a fragment of an inscription, located on a funerary pillar placed on the right façade of the basilica of Murano, Iohannaci states that he asked to do something.<sup>4</sup>

**Iohannaci (819)**

*Tribunus*. In 819, he witnessed the donation of Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 24: 'Notitia testium ... Petrus Yllarus'.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 234–35, no. 16: '[...]/ cum filia / sua Io]/hanna / fecet p(edes) / XXV'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Iohannaceni'.

<sup>4</sup> Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 13: 'DONIS DIS EGO IOHANNACI PR(es)B(iter) FIERI PRE'. Slightly different reading in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 24, no. 2: 'ONISAIES IOHANNA CIPRB FIER PRE', which also reports the photo of the pillar.

<sup>5</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Iohannaci tribunus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

### **Iohanaci (829)**

*Tribunus.* Son of Tribune Dominicus. In 829, he witnessed Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>6</sup> He might be Iohannaci (819).

### **Iohannaci (end of the ninth century/beginning of the tenth century)**

*Presbiter.* Iohannaci is mentioned in a fragment of an inscription that was probably a part of a tabernacle (*ciborium*) of the church of St Maria and St Donato of Murano.<sup>7</sup>

### **Joanici (900)**

*Abbas* of St Stephanus of Altino. In 900, following the destructions wrought by the Hungarians at the monastery of St Stephanus of Altino, Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the Abbot of St Stephanus of Altino, Joanici, and his successors exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>8</sup>

### **Iohannes (571/579)**

The *famuli* of St Eufemia Iohannes, Petrus, Nonnus, and Eusebia financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>9</sup>

### **Iohannis (571/579)**

*Lector.* Son of Agneta. Iohannis and his mother financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: '† Signum manus Iohanaci tribuno testis cui et relectum est ... Iohanaci tribuno filius Dominico tribuno'.

<sup>7</sup> Location: Murano, Museo vetrario. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 14: '(I)NDIGNUS IOHANNACI PRBV'. Slightly different reading in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 104, no. 153: 'DIGNUS IOHANNA CIPR D', which also reports the photo of the fragment.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 34, 35: 'ecce Jonanici venit abba monasterij Sancti Stephani altinatis ... ut a die presenti predictus Joanici eiusdem monasterij pariter vel successores ... nullum redditum solvat ad partem episcopi torcellensis'.

<sup>9</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 224, no. 5: 'Famuli [s(an)c(t)ae] / ma[r]tyris / Eu[femiae] / Nonnus [et Eu]sebi[a], Petrus / et Ioha[n]nes, / pro salute / sua et omnium / suorum ex [u]ot(o) suo f(ece)r(unt) [p(edes) C]'. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, I, p. 690, believes that Nonnus, Petrus, and Iohannes are Eusebia's sons.

<sup>10</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 242, no. 30: 'Iohannis / lect(or) cum / matre sua / Agneta / f(ecit) p(edes XXV)'.

**Iohannis (571/579)**

*Miles de numero Cadisiano*. Husband of Severina. Iohannes and his wife financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>11</sup>

**Ἰωάννης (= Iohannis) (571/579)**

Iohannis financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado). It is possible to deduce his name from the monograms below an inscription written in Greek.<sup>12</sup>

**Iohannis (571/579)**

*Miles de equitum Persoiustinianorum*. Iohannis states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>13</sup>

**Iohannes (second half of sixth century)**

*Vir spectabilis*. Iohannes, the *vir spectabilis* Laurentius and Niceforus commissioned a silver reliquary in honour of Saints Cantius, Cantianus, Cantianella, Quirinus, and Latinus. The reliquary was found in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>14</sup>

**Iohannis (end of the sixth century)**

Iohannis (perhaps with Reparatus) states that he fulfilled his vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>15</sup>

**Iohannes (fifth/sixth century)**

Probably the husband of Afrodites. Iohannes and Afrodites state that they fulfilled their vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie's (Grado).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 240, no. 28: 'Iohannis / mil(es) de num(ero) / Cadisiano / cum uxore / sua Seuerina / fecer(unt) p(edes) XXV'.

<sup>12</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 230, no. 10, p. 230, and photo no. 167.

<sup>13</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 239, no. 25: 'Iohannis / milis de nu/mero equit(um) / Persoius/tiniani uo/tum soluit'.

<sup>14</sup> *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, VI, 2 (1925), col. 1450: '† SLAVRENTIUS VS IOANNISVS NICE FORVS SANTIS REDDEDIDBOTVM'.

<sup>15</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 209, no. 9: 'DOA.../...MA..../ ERROCIN. / [u]ot(um) solb(it or erunt) / [I]ohannis / [et] Reparatus'.

<sup>16</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 204, no. 3: 'Iohannes et / Afrodites / uotum / soluent'.

**Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (sixth century)**

He probably financed a part of the basilica of Equilo's mosaic floor.<sup>17</sup>

**Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (sixth century)**

He and his relatives financed a part of the basilica of Equilo's mosaic floor.<sup>18</sup>

**Iohannes (683/685)**

Iohannes had two daughters. He promised the eldest in marriage to Stephanus, but she died before the wedding. Iohannes then asked the Patriarch of Grado, Agatho, and Pope Benedict II if his other daughter could marry Stephanus. The pope replied that this was possible if everyone involved agreed to the wedding.<sup>19</sup>

**Iohannes (766–802/803)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Iohannes (797–805)**

Co-ruler; *Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Iohannes (early ninth century)**

Iohannes, defined as 'iunior' is mentioned in a fragment of an inscription, preserved in St Eufemia (Grado). It is believed that he is the abbot of St Servolus, who replaced the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, for a short period in the 820s.<sup>20</sup>

**Iohannes II (806–810)**

*Diaconus; episcopus* of Olivolo; patriarch of Grado. See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

<sup>17</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 106, no. 1: 'Iohan[nes] / ..... / .....'

<sup>18</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 111, no. 8: 'Ioh[annes] / cum [suis] / de do[no or -num Dei] / f[ecit] pedes [...]'.  
<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 15, pp. 25–26: 'Benedictus, servus servorum Dei, Gradensi patriarchae salute ... quidam vestro nomine Ioannes pro connubio filiae suae superstitis, cuius soror defuncta cuidam inveni Stephano nomine simplicibus verbis fuerat desponsata, et, antequam ad nuptias perveniret, morte praeventa, utrum scilicet cum eodem iuvene possit matrimonium celebrari superstitis filiae, necne. Namque testatus est huius rei rationem apud vos haberi ambigam, quam, Deo docente, reddimus his verbis certissimam ... Quoniam vero ita prorsus sese habet res Ioannis istius, ut velit secundam filiam illi nuptiis copulare, cui primam iam decreverat desponsare, censura apostolici magistratus mandamus hoc absque ullius vitio posse fieri, si utriusque partis rederit voluntati'.

<sup>20</sup> Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 40: '† AD HONOREM BEATI MARCI L / ET IOHANNES IUNIOR SOLADE'.

**Iohannes (ref 824)**

*Magister militum*. In the document (824) in which Patriarch Fortunatus II gives a long description of what he did in favour of his Church, it is stated that some copper was taken from the house of the *magister militum* Iohannes.<sup>21</sup> He could be the *magister militum* Iohannes Fabriacus, who ruled Venice in 741–742, or Duke Iohannes (797–805). The latter is never mentioned with this title, but his father, Duke Mauricius, is also defined in this way.<sup>22</sup>

**Iohannes III (819, 820s)**

Abbot of St Servolus; Patriarch of Grado. See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Iohannes (834/835)**

*Tribunus*. Iohannes governed Venice for a year along with Tribune Basilius and the bishop of Olivolo, after the usurper Carosus, was overthrown, and before Duke Iohannes II’s reinstatement. He might be Tribune Iohannes Marturius, one of the leaders of the revolt against Carosus.<sup>23</sup>

**Iohannes II / Iohanaci (829–833/834, 835–836)**

*Dux*. Son of Duke Agnellus and brother of Duke Iustinianus. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Iohannes (830s)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Altino/Torcello’.

**Iohannes (late 830s – early 860s, † 863)**

Co-ruler. Son of Duke Petrus. See the appendix ‘Co-rulers of Venice’.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, no. 45, p. 78: ‘rame de casa Ioanni magistro milite tulerunt’.

<sup>22</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: ‘de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie, quod ei in divisione obvenit da Suria germana eius’.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: ‘Sequenti vero anno Basilius tribunus et Iohannes Marturius et ceteri nobiliorum numero triginta, predicti Iohannis ducis fidelitate a patria exientes, in sancti Martini ecclesia, que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strada scita est, ospitati et tam diu commorati sunt, donec Veneticorum multitudo ad illos conveniret, ut in Veneciam ad Carosi ducis periculum intrare sine aliquo obstaculo quivissent. Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio reclusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt. Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur’.

**Iohannes (864)**

*Archidiaconus* of Grado. After the killing of Duke Petrus in 864, Iohannes, the Bishop of Equilo, Petrus, and Dominicus Masso sent some of the duke's murderers into exile to Constantinople.<sup>24</sup>

**Iohannes (874)**

*Presbyter*. In 874, Iohannes, defined as 'presbyter de Venetiis' in the *Annales Fuldenses*, acted as ambassador of the Moravian Duke Zuentibald to King Louis the German.<sup>25</sup>

**Iohannes (870s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Civitas Nova-Heracliana'.

**Iohannes III (881–887)**

Son of Duke Ursus II; co-ruler; *Dux*. See the appendices 'Co-rulers' and 'Rulers of Venice'.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>25</sup> *Annales Fuldenses*, annum 874, pp. 82–83: 'in villa Forahein (*Louis the German*) locutus est ibique legatos Zuentibaldi pacem petentes et fidelitatem promittentes suscepit. Cuius legationis princeps erat Iohannes presbyter de Venetiis, qui etiam, ut ei rex omni ambiguitate remota crederet, quicquid verbis dicebat, sacramento firmabat, videlicet ut Zuentibald regi fidelis permaneret cunctis diebus vitae suae et censum a rege constitutum per annos singulos solveret, si ei tantummodo quiete agere et pacifice vivere concederetur'. Erich Caspar believes that Iohannes should be identified with the *presbyter* Iohannes who worked as messenger of Pope John VIII (872–882), the Slavic lord Branamir, the Bulgarian King Michael, and the Moravian ruler Svatopulk, the other name with which Zuentibald was known, while Agostino Pertusi thinks that Iohannes was the *presbyter* who acted as ambassador of Zuentibald/Svatopulk to Pope John VIII and one of the ecclesiastics to whom Pope Stephen V gave a message for the Moravian ruler about the liturgy in the Slavic language in c. 885. This scholar mistakenly attributes this letter to Pope John VIII. *Registrum*, no. 190, p. 152, and n. 2: 'Dilecto filio Branamir. Relegentes nobilitatis tuae litteras, quas per Iohannem presbyterum, communem fidelem, nobis mandasti ...'. *Registrum*, no. 192, pp. 154–55: 'Dilecto ac spiritali filio Michaeli glorioso regi Uulgarorum ... quod si volueritis, per hunc Iohannem venerabilem presbyterum, fidelem nostrum, nobis sub certitudine litterarum vestrarum remendare curate'. *Registrum*, no. 200, p. 160, and n. 2: 'Zuentapu.. de Maravna ... Quod autem, sicut Iohanne presbytero vestro, quem nobis misistis, referente didicimus'. Pope Stephen V, *Fragmenta Registri*, p. 352: 'Commonitorium Dominico episcopo Iohanni et Stefano presbyteris euntibus ad Sclavos'. Pertusi, 'Cultura bizantina a Venezia', p. 337, and n. 35. As the sources just mentioned emphasized, there is no reference, however, to the fact that this Iohannes was a Venetian.

**Iohannis (ninth century)**

Iohannis is mentioned along with Dominicus in a fragment of an inscription.<sup>26</sup>

**Iohannes? (919?)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Johannes (960)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Iohannes (967)**

*Diaconus*. In 967, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy/Western Empire, deacon Iohannes and Iohannes Guntarinus acted as legates of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>27</sup>

**Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971. In this document it is stated that Ioannes is 'de S. Paulo'.<sup>28</sup>

**Ioannes<sup>1</sup> [...] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>29</sup>

**Ioannes<sup>2</sup> [...] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>30</sup>

**Iohannes (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that Iohannes is 'de S. Luca, de Methamaucho'.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Location: Torcello, Museo provinciale. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 5: 'BEATI DANI(eli) / (Dom)INICUS ET IOH(annis)'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 48, pp. 85–86: 'per nuntios suos Iohannem Guntarinum et alium Iohannem diaconum'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Ego Ioannes de S. Paulo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Ioannes [...]'.  
<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Ioannes [...]'.  
<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Iohannes de S. Luca, de Methamaucho, iuravit et dedit'.

**Iohannes (982)**

See the 'Appendix Unknown Bishoprics'.

**Iohannes (982)**

*Presbiter et primicerius aecclesie Beati Marci Evangeliste*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>32</sup>

**Iohannes (979/991)**

*Libertus*. Former slave of Dominicus Dulcis. Iohannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>33</sup>

**Ioannes (979/991)**

Son of Petrus [...]. Ioannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>34</sup>

**Ioannes (979/991)**

Son of Ioannes 'texerio de Ravenna'. Ioannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>35</sup>

**Iohannes (995)**

*Diaconus; cappellanus* of Petrus Ursoylus II. In 995, in Aachen, Iohannes acted as ambassador of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II to Otto III for obtaining a confirmation of Civitas Nova-Heracliana's boundaries.<sup>36</sup>

**Joannes (996)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes, presbiter et primicerius aecclesie Beati Marci Evangeliste, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes, libertus Dominici Dulce, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes, filius Petri [...], dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes, filius Ioannis texerio, de Ravenna, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 73, p. 149: 'Otto, divina favente clementia, rex. Notum sit ... Petrum [nostrum dilectum compatrem et] Veneticorum ducem, per Johannem diaconum, suum capellanum, nostram suppliciter exorasse clementiam in terminationem Civitatis novae, quae vocatur Heracliana'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalicus,

**Iohannes (996)**

*Diaconus.* In May 996 Iohannes and Petrus Gradonicus asked Otto III on behalf of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II to give the Venetians some trade privileges in the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>38</sup>

**Joannes (998)**

*Presbiter et notarius.* In February 998 he drew up the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>39</sup>

**Joannes (May 998)**

In May 998, 'in loco, qui dicitur Staphylo', Joannes and several other Venetians took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>40</sup>

**Joannes (July 998)**

In July 998, in Verona, he took part in the *placitum* regarding the settlement of the dispute between the bishop of Belluno, and Duke Petrus Ursoylus II. Ioannes is defined as 'Veneticus'.<sup>41</sup> He might be Iohannes (996) and Joannes (May 998).

**Iohannes (1000, 1002)**

*Diaconus; capellanus.* In the year 1000 deacon Iohannes acted as ambassador of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II to Otto III, met the emperor in Como and went with him to Pavia, where the sovereign told Iohannes that he wished to visit the duke of Venice covertly.<sup>42</sup> Iohannes met Otto III again in Ravenna and, after several

Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 75, p. 153: 'per suos nuntios Petrum Gradonicum et Iohannem diaconum'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 81, p. 165: 'Ego Joannes, presbiter et notarius, complevi et roboravi'.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Joannes ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Joannis... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 84, p. 170: 'item Joanne, qui venetico'.

<sup>42</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 55: 'Interea Otto Imperator ad Italicum regnum tertio repetere disponens per vasti Cumani laci gurgites aditum habere voluit; quem Longobardorum multitudo Cumana in urbe excoeperunt. Inter quos Iohannes diaconus, supradicti Petri ducis nuncius, licet de sui senioris triumpho ignarus, advenit suumque seniore tantum profectum ad debellandam Sclavorum duriciam imperatori nunciavit. Cumque isdem Iohannes unam cum imperatore Ticinensem adiret urbem, nonnullis referentibus sui domini adventu et triumpho extitit expertus. Cui imperator ad propriam iam reddere volenti hoc secretum iniungens suo

trips, was able to organize the secret visit of the emperor to Rivoalto.<sup>43</sup> He also took the sovereign back to the monastery of Pomposa.<sup>44</sup> Afterwards, Iohannes brought the duke of Venice two presents from Otto III, one from Pavia and the other one from Ravenna. In exchange for the gifts, Petrus Ursoylus II sent the Emperor a precious *cathedra* through the deacon Iohannes.<sup>45</sup> In November 1002, at Regensburg, Iohannes, defined as *diaconus et capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II, acted as legate of his lord and his son Iohannes to the German King Henry II for the renewal of the Venetian privileges in the Italian Kingdom.<sup>46</sup> It is believed that Iohannes is the author of the *Istoria Veneticorum*. Given that in this work deacon Iohannes is described as the ambassador of Duke Petrus

seniori delegavit, ut, si possibile foret, dilectionis gratia in aliquo sue potestatis loco clam vellet venire et tanti viri et compatri presentia et sagacitate potiri.

<sup>43</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 56, 57: 'Predictus vero cesar, Ticinense relicta urbe, per Tuscie alpes Romanum obtabile peciit solium; deinde in abstinentia, que pascalem antecedens solemnitatem, Ravennam descendere curavit. Cui Petrus dux eundem Iohannem diaconum destinavit; a quo benigne susceptus, inopportune id ipsum quod antea dixerat reciprocare satagebat. Unde factum est ut inter utrasque partes sepedito Iohanne diacono crebro discurrendo, tale ventilaretur negocium. Demum imperator salubre a duce accepto consilio sacrum diem pascalem devotissime celebrans omnibus maioribus suis indicavit se purgationis poculum apud sancte Marie monasterium in quadam insula, que Ponposia nominatur, accipere et aliquantis inibi diebus commorari velle. Manet siquidem eadem insula non procul a Venecia, ex una parte marino littore, ex aliis Eripdani cingitur fluentis. His dictis, dies statuta est in qua ille et sancti Marci oraculum et diu desideratum compatrem adiret. Tunc cum aliquantis, quibus hoc familiariter commissum habebat, intrans navim, predictum peciit monasterium. Ubi minime pernoctans, abate cum monachis astantibus eiusdem monasterii quoddam ospiciolum providens preparare iussit, in quo sese per triduum curationis potum custodire simulabat. [57.] Nocte itaque perventa parvam naviculam ascendens, qua predictus Iohannes diaconus ad ipsius insule marginem prestolando latitabat.'

<sup>44</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 60: 'Imperator cum duobus tantum et Iohanne diacono navim intrans, predictum occulte in nocte regressus est ad monasterium. Mane vero se prestolantibus videre inopinate exhibuit et Ravennam cum prelibati Iohanni diaconi nave properans, de Venetia se reverti omnibus prodiit; quod difficile credere volentes ammodum mirantur.'

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 62: 'Eo tempore duo imperialia ornamenta auro miro opere acta cesar per Iohannem diaconum Petro suo compatri duci, unum ex Papiensi aliud ex Ravennati urbe dono transmisit. Cui dux recompensationis gratia cathedram elephantinis artificiose sculpta tabulis per eundem diaconum Ravennae direxit, quam avide suscipiens in eadem conservandam urbe reliquit.'

<sup>46</sup> *Henrici II. et Arduini diplomata*, no. 24, p. 27: 'Henricus divina favente clementia rex ... qualiter venerabilis dux Veneticorum et Dalmatianorum nomine Petrus una cum filio suo Iohanne similiter duce per dilectum nobis Iohannem diaconum et suum capellannum.'

Ursoylus II to Otto III, he should be identified with *diaconus* and *capellanus* Iohannes, who had the same role in 995. Moreover, since this Venetian chronicle narrates two trips of the German ruler to Rome,<sup>47</sup> it is like likely that this deacon Iohannes was *diaconus* Joannes (991/1008) who received some money for the expenses he had had in Rome.

### **Iohannes (1008)**

*Clericus*. In July 1008, at Forchheim, Iohannes acted as legate of the Abbot of St Hilarius, Vuilliellmus, to the German King Henry II for the renewal of the monastery's privileges.<sup>48</sup>

### **Jannes (991/1008)**

*Libertus* of Gulla Pelosus. Jannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>49</sup>

### **Joannes (991/1008)**

Cousin of Petrus Donatus 'de Gemino' and Ioannes Donatus. Joannes and his cousins are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>50</sup>

### **Joannes (991/1008)**

*Diaconus*. In the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule, it is said that deacon Joannes received some money for the expenses he had had in Rome.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 39. 44.

<sup>48</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 6, pp. 32–33: 'Henricus superna ordinante providencia res... domnus et venerabilis Vuilliellmus nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Hilari et Benedicti de partibus Venetie in finibus Rivoaltensi iuxta fluvium Une nobis suum eodem modo misit legatum Iohannem clericum'.

<sup>49</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Jannes, libertus Gulla Pelloso, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus Donato de Gemino juravit per testes quod parentes sui decimum dederunt, et juravit; et Ioannes, frater eius, et Joannes, consobrinus eius, simul probaverunt et juraverunt'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Greculo dedit duas libras, quas dedimus Petro diacono propter papie[n]ses denarios, quos Joannes diaconus habuit Romae propter expensam'.

**Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of the *presbiter* Justus and brother of Petrus. Joannes and Petrus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus's rule. In this document it is stated that they are 'de Methamauco'.<sup>52</sup>

**Joannes (991/1008)**

*Navalarius Lombardus*. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>53</sup>

**Iohannia (ref 829)**

*Dei ancilla*. She was daughter of Romana cata Betegani 'de Equilo'. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Romana and her daughter, Iohannia.<sup>54</sup>

**Iohannia (second half of ninth century)**

Daughter of Duke Ursus II. She was the abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias which she had restored.<sup>55</sup>

**Iohannia (963)**

Abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias. She was from Ravenna.<sup>56</sup> In 963, Otto I confirmed Abbess Iohannia the donations to her monastery.<sup>57</sup>

**Irenianus (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Irenianus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Joannes et Petrus, filii presbiteri Justi, de Methamauco juraverunt et dederunt decimum'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Navalario Lombardo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>54</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per documenti cartulam de Romana Dei ançilla cata Betegani de Equilo et de Iohania Dei ançilla filia eius'.

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 22: 'Iohannia siquidem abbatissa, domni Ursi duci filia, sancti Zacharię monasterium, iam pęne consumptum vetustate, a fundamentis recreare studuit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 45, pp. 77, 78: 'Iohannia, abatissa de monasterio, sancti Zacharię in finibus Veneciarum constructo prope [palatium de Rivo]alto ... pars predicti zenobii, cui nunc Iohannia ravennatis [venerabilis abbatisse] preesse videtur'. It has been hypothesized that she was the first wife of Duke Petrus Candianus IV. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 28.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 45, pp. 77–79.

<sup>58</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 246,

**Iubianus (740–741)**

*Magister militum; ypatus.* See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Iubianus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>59</sup>

**Iulianus (640s–690s)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Altino/Torcello’.

**Iustinianus (827/828–829)**

Son of Duke Agnellus; co-ruler; *Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Iustinianus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971. In this document it is stated that Iustinianus is ‘de Castello’.<sup>60</sup>

**Iustinianus (Iustiniano), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>61</sup>

**Iustinus (571/579)**

*Notarius.* Iustinus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>62</sup>

**Iustinus (ref 571/586)**

Probably commander of a *turma* of the *numerus Tarvisianus*. Iustinus is mentioned in the inscription of *miles* Stephanus which was found in St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>63</sup>

no. 38: ‘[I]renia/[n]us nota/[riu]s uo/[tum sol]uit’.

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Dominici Iubiani’.

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Iustiniani de Castello’.

<sup>61</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Signum manus Petro Iustiniano consencientis’.

<sup>62</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L’évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 250, no. 47: ‘Iustinus / notarius / uotum / soluit’.

<sup>63</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L’évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 209–10, no. 10: ‘Stefan[us] / mili(s) n(u)m(eri) / Ta(r)b(isiani) t(urmae) Ius/t(i)ni uot(um) / solb(it)’.

**Iustus (825/826)**

*Presbiter.* In 825/826, *presbiter* Iustus, *missus* of Dukes Agnellus and Iustinianus, and Petrus, the Patriarch of Grado Venerius's *missus*, went to Emperor Louis the Pious.<sup>64</sup>

**Iustus (829)**

*Presbiter.* Duke Iustinianus states in his will that, after his death, the remaining part of his patrimony must be given to his wife and to *presbiteri* Iustus and Deusdedit. Iustus is also among the signatories of Duke Iustianus's will.<sup>65</sup> He might be *presbiter* Iustus (825/826).

**Iustus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>66</sup>

**Iustus (ref 991/1008)**

*Presbiter.* Father of Joannes and Petrus 'de Methamauco', who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus's rule.<sup>67</sup>

## K

**Kaisolus; see Caisolus**

<sup>64</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 46, p. 80: 'Direximus autem apud sacra imperialia vestigia domini nostri missum nostrum Petrum una cum Iusto presbitero, misso Agnelli et Iustiniani fidelium vestrorum ac filiorum nostrorum'.

<sup>65</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 21, 23, 24: 'Et post meum quicquid remanserit obitum, comitto Felicitati fideli uxori mee et Iusto et Deusdedit presbiteris ... Iustus vero presbiter fidelis michi et populi in omnibus volo ut habeat de mea causa pro suo recto servicio argenti libras .L.... † Iustus humilis presbiter in hunc testamento ex precepto domni Iusti[n]iani'.

<sup>66</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Signum manus Dominici Iusti'.

<sup>67</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Joannes et Petrus, filii presbiteri Iusti, de Methamauco iuraverunt et dederunt decimum'.

## L

**Labresella, Iohannes (864)**

In 864, he took part in the murder of Duke Petrus. Consequently, he was killed.<sup>1</sup>

**Landus (ref 991)**

Abbot of St Michael Archangel. Predecessor of Abbot Leo.<sup>2</sup>

**Lauredanus (Lauredano), Dandolus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>3</sup>

**Laurentius<sup>1</sup> (571/579)**

*Diaconus*. He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>4</sup>

**Laurentius<sup>2</sup> (571/579)**

*Diaconus*. Laurentius states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>5</sup>

**Laurentius (571/579)**

*Miles de numero Tarvisiano*. Son of Domnius. Laurentius financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Sed divina clemencia diu noluit inultum hoc pretermittere scelus. In sancti Sixti festiuitate Iohannes Gradonicus cum duobus natis, Stephanus de Sabulo, Iohannes Labresella occisi sunt.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 23: 'Et Landus abbas eodem monasterio vester (*Leo*) antecessor'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dandolo Lauredano dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>4</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 225, no. 6: 'Seruus Chr(ist)i / Laurentius / diaconus / uotum soluit'.

<sup>5</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 249, no. 44: 'Lauren/tius diac(onus) / uotum / soluit'. Salvatore Cosentino believes that he should be identified with the previous Laurentius. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 262–63.

<sup>6</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 244, no. 34: 'Lauren/tius mi/lis de n[umero] / Taruis[iano et] / filius [Dom]ni (?) fec[it p(edes) XXV]'.

**Laurentius (571/579)**

*Vir clarissimus palatinus.* Laurentius and his relatives financed two hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>7</sup>

**Laurentius (579)**

*Presbiter provincialis.* He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>8</sup>

**Laurentius (579)**

*Presbiter.* He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>9</sup>

**Laurentius (Second half of sixth century)**

*Vir spectabilis.* Laurentius, *vir spectabilis* Iohannes, and Niceforus commissioned a silver reliquary in honour of Saints Cantius, Cantianus, Cantianella, Quirinus, and Latinus. The reliquary was found in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>10</sup>

**Laurentius (876)**

*Archidiaconus* of Grado. In December 876, during the dispute over the bishop of Torcello's election, Pope John VIII sent some letters stating that he would excommunicate several Venetian ecclesiastics, among whom there was the *archidiaconus* of Grado, Laurentius, if they would not go to Rome on the ides of February 877.<sup>11</sup>

**Laurentius (876)**

*Archidiaconus* of Grado; probably uncle of the deacon of Grado Laurentius. In December 876, during the dispute over the bishop of Torcello's election, Pope John VIII sent several letters stating that he would excommunicate some

<sup>7</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 228, no. 8: 'Laurentius / u(ir) c(larissimus) / palatinus uo/tum cum suis / soluit et de/num Dei / fece/runt p(e)d(es) CC'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Laurentius, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 11: 'subter manibus suis conscripserunt ... Laurentius presbyter provinciales'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Laurentius, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>10</sup> *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, VI, 2, col. 1450: '† SLAVRENTIUS VS IOANNISVS NICE FORVS SANTIS REDDEDIDBOTVM'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 10, p. 15: 'nec non Laurentium archidiaconum gradensis ecclesie ... Romam in presentiam nostram ex nostra apostolica auctoritate idibus februaris ... si in predictis idibus venire quolibet modo distulerint, sciant se omni ecclesiastica communione esse privatos atque anathematis vinculis innodatos'. See also *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 6, 7.

Venetian ecclesiastics, among whom there was the *archidiaconus* of Grado Laurentius, if they would not go to Rome on the ides of February 877. We cannot be sure whether or not he was the uncle of the deacon Laurentius, because in two letters the latter is defined *nepos* of the *archidiaconus* of Grado while another epistle indicates that he was the *nepos* of the *archipresbiter* of Grado.<sup>12</sup>

### **Laurentius (876)**

*Diaconus* of Grado, probably nephew of the *archidiaconus* of Grado Laurentius. On occasion of the dispute over the bishop of Torcello's election, in December 876 Pope John VIII sent several letters stating that he would excommunicate several Venetian ecclesiastics, among whom there was the *diaconus* of Grado Laurentius, if they would not go to Rome on the ides of February 877. We cannot be sure whether or not he is the nephew of the archdeacon of Grado Laurentius as in two letters the deacon Laurentius is defined *nepos* of the *archidiaconus* of Grado while another epistle indicates that he is *nepos* of the *archipresbiter* of Grado.<sup>13</sup>

### **Laurentius (870s; 883)**

*Presbiter; episcopus*. See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

### **Laurentius (early tenth century)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 6, p. 8: 'nec non et archipresbitero et archidiacono atque huius equivoco et nepoti Laurencio, diacono gradensis ecclesie, quia teciens a nobis vocati ad concilium Rome occurrere contempserunt, futuram excommunicationis sententiam'. II, no. 7, p. 11: 'et archipresbiterum et archidiaconum atque huius equivocum et nepotem Laurencium, diaconum gradensis ecclesie'. II, no. 10, p. 15: 'nec non Laurentium archidiaconum gradensis ecclesie ... et archypresbyterum gradensem cum nepote suo Laurentio Romam in presentiam nostram ex nostra apostolica auctoritate idibus februaris... si in predictis idibus venire quolibet modo distulerint, sciant se omni ecclesiastica communione esse privatos atque anathematis vinculis innodatos'. See also II, nos 6, 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 6, p. 8: 'nec non et archipresbitero et archidiacono atque huius equivoco et nepoti Laurencio, diacono gradensis ecclesie, quia teciens a nobis vocati ad concilium Rome occurrere contempserunt, futuram excommunicationis sententiam'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 7, p. 11: 'et archipresbiterum et archidiaconum atque huius equivocum et nepotem Laurencium, diaconum gradensis ecclesie'. II, no. 10, p. 15: 'nec non Laurentium archidiaconum gradensis ecclesie ... et archypresbyterum gradensem cum nepote suo Laurentio Romam in presentiam nostram ex nostra apostolica auctoritate idibus februaris ... si in predictis idibus venire quolibet modo distulerint, sciant se omni ecclesiastica communione esse privatos atque anathematis vinculis innodatos'. See also II, nos 6, 7.

**Laurentius [...] (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>14</sup>

**Laurentius (991/1008)**

Son of a Beneventan priest and brother of Andreas. Laurentius is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>15</sup>

**Lautus (571/579)**

*Actoarius sanctae ecclesiae Aquileiensis*. He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>16</sup>

**Lautus (571/579)**

*Lector*. Lautus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>17</sup>

**Leo (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>18</sup>

**Leo (737–738)**

*Magister militum*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Leo (876, 877)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Caprulas'.

**Leo (877/878)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Leo (883)**

In 883, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Western Empire and the confirmation of the imperial donations to the monastery of St Hilarius, Leo acted as one of the legates of the duke of Venice and of the abbot of St Hilarius.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Laurentius [...]'.  
<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Andreas filius presbiteri Beneventani / Laurentius, frater eorundem, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>16</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 229, no. 9: 'Lautus, actoa/rius s(an)c(t)ae eccl(esiae) / aquil(eiensis) [cu]m su/[is uo]t(um) [sol]uit'.

<sup>17</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 249, no. 43: 'Lautus / lector / uotum soluit'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Leo, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 16, p. 22: 'quia Iohannes, Venetiarum

**Leo/Leus (971)**

*Libertus*? He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>20</sup>

**Leo (971)**

Leo is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971. He is defined as *Torcellensis*.<sup>21</sup>

**Leo (991)**

Abbot of St Michael Archangel. Petrus Maurocenus Theodosius sold five salt-works to Leo in 991.<sup>22</sup>

**Leo (1007/1008)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Lodoytus (Lodoyto), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>23</sup>

**Longobardus (Longobardo), Ioannes (978/979)**

*Libertus* of Ursus Daneus. Ioannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>24</sup>

dux, per legatos suos Laurentium, venerabilem episcopum, atque Vigilium seu Leonem, veneticos'. *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 4, p. 28: 'qualiter domnus et venerabilis abbas Vitalis nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie in finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta flumine Une nobis suos eo modo misit legatos Laurentium, Venecie episcopum, atque Vigilium seu Leonem, veneticos'. It is believed that a part of this document was either forged or interpolated at a later date. Sopracasa, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto', pp. 132–36.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Lei a [*sic*] liberto'. As one can see, the source is not clear. The copyist probably made a mistake. Andrea Castagnetti reads 'Leo Liberto'. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 625.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Leo Torcellensis'.

<sup>22</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, pp. 22–23: 'ego quidem Petrus filius bone memorie Petro Maureceni Theodosio cum meis heredibus venditor ... tibi domno Leoni venerabili abbati monasterio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et a tota vestra congregacione ... hoc est super totas quinque salinas quas michi largivit predictus pater meus ... sunt in territorio vestri monasterii in vico Clugie Minoris'.

<sup>23</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Lodoyto consencientis'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Ioannes Longobardo, libertus Urso Daneo, iuravit et dedit'.

**Langobardus (Langobardo), Ioannes (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Petrus, *presbiter* 'de Sancto Iacobo'. Iohannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>25</sup>

**Lomgobardus (Lomgobardo), Ioannes (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Iannis Cyprianus. Iohannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>26</sup>

**Marinus Celsus Longobardus; see Celsus Longobardus, Marinus****Longus (Longo), Ioannes<sup>1</sup> (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>27</sup>

**Longus (Longo), Ioannes<sup>2</sup> (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>28</sup>

**Longus, Dominicus (982)**

Son of Georgius. He and his father are among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>29</sup>

**Longus (Longo), Georgius (982)**

Father of Dominicus. He and his son are among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). In this document it is stated that Georgius is 'de Torcello'.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Ioannes Langobardo, liberto Petro presbitero de sancto Iacobo, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Iohannes Lomgobardo [*sic*] liberto Iannis Cypriani, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Signum manus Ioannis Longo'

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Ioannis Longo'.

<sup>29</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Georgius Longo manu mea subscripsi de Torcello. Signum manus Dominici filii eius consencientis'.

<sup>30</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Georgius Longo manu mea subscripsi de Torcello. Signum manus Dominici filii eius consencientis'.

**Longus (Longo), Aureganus (991/1008)**

Aureganus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is from Metamauco.<sup>31</sup>

**Longus (Longo), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Rivo Sancto Thomas'.<sup>32</sup>

**Luciana (571/579)**

Luciana, Lucianus, Lucinus and Romana financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>33</sup>

**Lucianus (571/579)**

Lucianus, Luciana, Lucinus and Romana financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>34</sup>

**Lucillus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>35</sup>

**Lucinus (571/579)**

Lucinus, Romana, Lucianus and Luciana financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Auregano Longo de eodem loco (i.e. *Metamauco*) juravit et dedit'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus Longo de rivo Sancto Thomas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>33</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 229, no. 9: 'S(e)ru[us] Chr(ist)i / [Lucinus], Ro/[mana, Lu]cia/[nus et Luci]ana / [fec]erunt p(edes) C'. Caillet states that Lucianus and Luciana might be the children of Lucinus and Romana. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Luciana is the wife of Lucianus. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 299.

<sup>34</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 229, no. 9: 'S(e)ru[us] Chr(ist)i / [Lucinus], Ro/[mana, Lu]cia/[nus et Luci]ana / [fec]erunt p(edes) C'. Caillet states that Lucianus and Luciana might be the children of Lucinus and Romana. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Lucianus is the husband of Luciana. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 299.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Lucillus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>36</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 229,

**Ludotus Marinus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>37</sup>

**Lumanus (ref 991/1008)**

*Presbiter*. Father of Lumanus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>38</sup>

**Lumanus (991/1008)**

Son of the *presbiter* Lumanus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Lumanus is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>39</sup>

**Lupanicus (ref 853)**

He could be related to Tribune Deusdedi who witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>40</sup>

**Luparenus, Ioannes (ref 971)**

Father of Luparius who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>41</sup>

**Luparenus, Luparius (971)**

Son of Ioannes. Luparius is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>42</sup>

no. 9: 'S(e)ru[us] Chr(ist)i / [Lucinus], Ro/[mana, Lu]cia/[nus et Luci]ana / [fec]erunt p(edes) C'. Caillet states that Lucianus and Luciana might be the children of Lucinus and Romana. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Lucinus is the husband of Romana. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 301.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 165: 'Ludotus Marinus'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Lumanus, filius Lumani presbiteri, de Methamauco iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Lumanus, filius Lumani presbiteri, de Methamauco iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>40</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Deusdedi tribunus ... Notitia testium ... Deusdedi tribunus..... \*\*\*\*\* tribunus cata Lupanicus..... \*\*\*\*\*'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Luparii, filii Ioannis Lupareni'.

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Luparii, filii Ioannis Lupareni'.

## M

**Madrus; see Matrus**

**Magiscolus, Laurencius (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>1</sup>

**Magister, Petrus (ref 971)**

Father of Petrus who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>2</sup>

**Magister, Petrus (971)**

Son of Petrus. He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

**Magister Petrus, Laurentius (991/1008)**

Brother of Petrus. Laurentius and Petrus are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>4</sup>

**Magister Petrus, Petrus (991/1008)**

Brother of Laurentius. Petrus and Laurentius are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>5</sup>

**Magistracus (ref 853)**

Probably father of *tribunus* Iohannes who witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Laurencii Magiscoli, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Petri, filii Petri magistri, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Petri, filii Petri magistri, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Laurentius Magister Petrus de decimo cum Petro, fratre suo, juraverunt et dederunt'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Laurentius Magister Petrus de decimo cum Petro, fratre suo, juraverunt et dederunt'.

<sup>6</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 11: 'Iohannes tribunus cata Magistracus'.

**Magnus (770/ 772)**

*Presbiter et scriniarius* of the patriarch of Grado. In 770/772 Magnus and Tribune Constantius gave a letter of the Patriarch of Grado, Iohannes, to Pope Stephen III.<sup>7</sup>

**Magnus, [...] (ref 978/979)**

Father of Marcus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>8</sup>

**Magnus, Marcus (978/979)**

Son of '[...] Magni'. Marcus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>9</sup>

**Magnus (Magno), Dominicus<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>10</sup>

**Magnus (Magno), Dominicus<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>11</sup>

**Magnus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>12</sup>

**Malchus (fifth/sixth century)**

Probably the husband of Eufimia. Malchus, Eufimia and their relatives state that they fulfilled their vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, p. 49: 'festinavimus una cum consensu sanctorum Dei filio, Mauricio consuli et imperiali duci huius Venetiarum provinciae, presentes viros, humilimos vestros, Magno, presbitero et scriniario nostro, sed et Constantio tribuno, gerolis nostris, quos, quasi praesentialiter domino nostro osculantes vestigia, quaeso commendatos habere'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Marcus, filius [...] Magni iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 109: 'Marcus, filius [...] Magni iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>10</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Magno consencientis'.

<sup>11</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Magno manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Magnus'.

<sup>13</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 206, no. 6: 'Malchus / et Eufimia / cum suis uo/tum soluent'.

**Malianus in cucho, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>14</sup>

**Manous (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998. In this document it is stated that Manous is 'de Castello'.<sup>15</sup>

**Marangus (Marango), Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>16</sup>

**Maranus, Ioannes (ref 971)**

Father of Ioannes who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>17</sup>

**Maranus, Ioannes (971)**

Son of Ioannes. He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>18</sup>

**Marcellus? (early eighth century)**

*Dux.* See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Marcellus (Marcello), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici Maliani in cucho'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Manous de Castello'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Martinus Marango juravit et dedit'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis, filii Ioannis Marani'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis, filii Ioannis Marani'.

<sup>19</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Marcello manu mea subscripsi'.

**Marcellus (Marcello), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>20</sup>

**Marcianicus (eighth century)**

Probably father of *tribunus* Iohannes and grand-father of Dominicus who is mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>21</sup>

**Marcianus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>22</sup>

**Marcianus (beginning of the seventh century)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Maria (ref 829)**

*Christi famula*. Daughter of Gatulus and sister of Steffana. In his will the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, states that he bought some estates belonging to Maria and her sister Steffana.<sup>23</sup>

**Marianus (627, 642/647)**

*Eloquentissimus consiliarius* of the exarch. Patriarch Fortunatus (627) promised to give Marianus a certain *domus Stephani*, probably located in or near Grado, but Patriarch Primogenius, who succeeded Fortunatus after the latter had fled to the Lombards, refused to do so. Marianus went to Rome and complained about this issue with Pope Theodorus, who sent a letter to Primogenius in 642/647 urging him to fulfill the pledge.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petro Marcello consencientis'.

<sup>21</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'Item vineas quas ego per documenti cartulam tenere visus sum de Dominico filio quidem Iohanni tribuno cata Marcianico de Torcello'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Marcianus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>23</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Detinemus per documenti cartulam de Maria et Steffana Christi famulas et germanas filia quidem Gatulo de suprascripto vico (*Equilo*)'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 14, p. 24: 'Marianus eloquentissimus consiliarius excellentissimi filii nostri domini exarchi'. It has been hypothesized that this letter is a forgery. Conte, *Chiesa e primato*, p. 441, n. 129.

**Marianus (beginning of the ninth century)**

Marianus followed Tribune Obellierius and other Venetians, who, opposing Duke Iohannes, left Venice and went to Treviso. There, they elected Obellierius as duke of Venice and subsequently returned to Venice, when they heard that Duke Iohannes had fled.<sup>25</sup>

**Marifelix (Marifelici), Dominicus Bonus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>26</sup>

**Marignonus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>27</sup>

**Marignonus, Iustus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>28</sup>

**Marimbianus (Marimbiano), Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Haburiano'.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio'.

<sup>26</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Bono Marifelici manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Marignoni, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Iusti Marignoni'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Petrus Marimbiano de Haburiano dedit et iuravit'.

**Marneschus (Marnescho), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>30</sup>

**Marineschus, Vitalis (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>31</sup>

**Marinescus (Marinesco), Bonus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amurianas'.<sup>32</sup>

**Marinus (579)**

*Presbiter provincialis*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>33</sup>

**Marinus? (919?)**

*Abbas* of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus. Probably in 919 a dispute was settled between Marinus, abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus, and the Bishop of Torcello, Petrus.<sup>34</sup>

**Marinus? (919?)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Caprulas'.

**Marinus? (919?)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Marinus (ref 933; 948)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici Marnescho'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Vitalis Marineschi'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Bonus Marinesco de eodem vico (i. e. Amurianas) juravit et dedit'.

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 11: 'subter manibus suis conscripserunt ... Marinus presbyter ... provinciales'. Marinus is not among the subscribers of the synod of Grado.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 44: 'Marinus abbas monasterii beatorum martirum Felicis et Fortunati et Cosmae et Damiani'. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

**Marinus (971, 982)**

See the appendix 'Unknown Bishoprics'.

**Marinus (971)**

*Diaconus et notarius.* In 971 he drew up the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>35</sup>

**Marinus, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>36</sup>

**Marinus (Marino), Dominicus (978/979)**

Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>37</sup>

**Marinus, Ioannes (ref 979/991)**

Father of Marcus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>38</sup>

**Marinus, Marcus (979/991)**

Son of Ioannes. Marcus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>39</sup>

**Marinus (992)**

*Diaconus.* In 992, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the German Empire, Marinus acted as one of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's legates.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Ego Marinus, diaconus et notarius, complevi et roboravi'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis Marini'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Dominicus Marino dedit et iuravit: iste est de Methamauco'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marcus Ioannis Marini dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marcus Ioannis Marini dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 69, p. 137: 'Eo quod Petrus, dux Veneticorum, per suos nuntios Marinum dyaconum et Iohannem Ursiolum'.

**Marinus (996)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>41</sup>

**Marinus († c. 996)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Marinus, Ludotus (998); see Ludotus Marinus****Marinus, Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Donatus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>42</sup>

**Marinus, Donatus (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus. Donatus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Maioribus'.<sup>43</sup>

**Marneschus, see Marineschus****Martinatius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>44</sup>

**Martinatius, Vitalis (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalicus, Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

<sup>42</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Donatus de Maioribus, filius Dominici Marini, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Donatus de Maioribus, filius Dominici Marini, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Joannes Martinatius'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Vitalis Martinatius'.

**Martinellus (Martinello) (991/1008)**

In the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule, it is said that Martinellus received ten *mancusi*.<sup>46</sup>

**Martinianus (571/579)**

Husband of Simplicia. Martinianus, his wife and their children financed one hundred (or fifty) feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>47</sup>

**Martinicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus<sup>3</sup> 'de Rivoalto' who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>48</sup>

**Martinus (571/579)**

Likely *lector*. He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>49</sup>

**Martinus, Ioannes (ref 971)**

Father of Martinus who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>50</sup>

**Martinus (971)**

Son of Ioannes Martinus. Martinus is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Joannes Cemballarius de Canaledo juravit et dedit mancusios X, et istos X mancusios recepit Martinello'.

<sup>47</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 236, no. 19: 'Martini/anus et Simplicia / cum fili/is suis / f(ecerunt) p(edes) C (or L?)'.

<sup>48</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus, filius Martinico, de Rivoalto dedit et juravit'.

<sup>49</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 253, no. 54: 'Martinus / [lec]t[or] uot[um] s/[ol]bit'.

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Martini, filii Ioannis Martini'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Martini, filii Ioannis Martini'.

**Martinus (982)**

*Presbiter et gramaticus*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>52</sup>

**Martinus (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Michael, Io[hannes] Greccus's son. Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>53</sup>

**Martinus (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Iohannes de Canali. Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>54</sup>

**Martinus (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Dominicus Madrus. Martinus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>55</sup>

**Martinus (Martini), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>56</sup>

**Martinus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>57</sup>

**Martinus (Martini), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Martinus, presbiter et gramaticus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus, libertus Michaelis, filii Io. Grecco, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Martinus, liberto Iohanni de Canali, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Martinus, liberto Dominici Madri, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>56</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Ioannes Martini dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus Martinus'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Martini dedit libras 9, et recepit eas Joannes Adoaldo'.

**[Mart]urius (sixth century)**

He and his relatives financed a part of the basilica of Equilo's mosaic floor.<sup>59</sup>

**Marturius, Iohannes (834/835)**

*Tribunus.* Iohannes Marturius was one of the opponents of Carosus, who overthrew Duke Iohannes II and took possession of power in Venice. Iohannes left Venice and went to the mainland with other dissidents. Shortly afterwards, his faction returned to Venice and deposed Carosus. It is likely that he is Tribune Iohannes who governed the Duchy for a year alongside Tribune Basilius and the bishop of Olivolo before the reinstatement of Duke Iohannes II.<sup>60</sup>

**Marzagnulus (Marzagnulo), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>61</sup>

**Marzanus (Marzano), Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>62</sup>

**Masserdalus, Iohannes (seventh century/ninth century)**

Iohannes is mentioned in an inscription on a sarcophagus.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 110, no. 7: '[Mart]urius (?) / [cum] suis / [de don]o Dei / [f(ecit) p(edes) ...] V'.

<sup>60</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44: 'Sequenti vero anno Basilius tribunus et Iohannes Marturius et ceteri nobiliorum numero triginta, predicti Iohannis ducis fidelitate a patria exientes, in sancti Martini ecclesia, que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strada scita est, ospitati et tam diu commorati sunt, donec Veneticorum multitudo ad illos conveniret, ut in Veneciam ad Carosi ducis periculum intrare sine aliquo obstaculo quivissent. Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio reclusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt. Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur'.

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus Marzagnulo iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>62</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Marzano dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>63</sup> Location: Murano, Museo del vetro. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, V, E, p. 198: '† Iohannes Masserdalus'.

**Masso (or Massonis), Dominicus (864)**

After the killing of Duke Petrus in 864, Dominicus Masso, the Bishop of Equilo, Petrus, and the Archdeacon of Grado, Iohannes, sent some of Duke's murderers into exile to Constantinople.<sup>64</sup>

**Mastalicus [family] (836)**

In 836 some members of the Mastalicus family deposed Duke Iohannes II and forced him to become a cleric at Grado.<sup>65</sup>

**Mastalicus (ref 853)**

He might be the father of *tribunus* Dominicus, who witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>66</sup>

**de Mastalico, Joannes/Ioanninus (880)**

He witnessed the pact between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in 880.<sup>67</sup>

**Mastalicus, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>68</sup>

**Mastalicus, Dominicus (996)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletus per Petrum Equilegensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolin ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>65</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 48: 'Preterea quidam Veneticorum, cognomento Mastallici, diabolica suggestionem decepti, eundem Iohannem sancti Petri de ecclesia in eiusdem festivitate venientem comprehendentes, detonsa barba cum capillis, clericum apud Gradensem urbem consecrare fecerunt, qui ibi perstitit interim diem ultimum vixit'.

<sup>66</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: 'Dominicus tribunus in hunc testamentum rogatus ad Ursus episcopus manu mea subscripsi ... \*\*\*\*\* cata Mastalicus'.

<sup>67</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Joannis, vel Ioannini de Mastalico'.

<sup>68</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Mastalicus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>69</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalicus, Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

**Matadurus; see Mattadorus****Matalardus (Matalardo), Turdus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>70</sup>

**Madrus, Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Martinus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>71</sup>

**Matrus, Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>72</sup>

**Matrus (Matri), Ursus (Urso) (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>73</sup>

**Matadurus (Mataduri), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>74</sup>

**Mattadorus, Dominicus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Turdo Matalardo'.

<sup>71</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Martinus, liberto Dominici Madri, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>72</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Matri qui hec consensit'.

<sup>73</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Urso Matri manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>74</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Mataduri manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>75</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Mattadorus'.

**Matadorus, Dominicus (May 998)**

In May 998 he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>76</sup> He might be Dominicus Mattadorus (February 998).

**Maulatus, Zenus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>77</sup>

**Maurentius? (sixth/eighth century)**

Maurentius is mentioned in a seal. It has been hypothesized that it is from Venice.<sup>78</sup>

**Mauresculus (Mauresculo), Aurius (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>79</sup>

**Maurianus (ref 824)**

*Magister*. The Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, had him build some 'templi'.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Matadoro ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Zenus Maulatus'.

<sup>78</sup> Ravegnani, *Bisanzio e Venezia*, p. 31. This seal is unpublished. Giorgio Ravegnani told me that the late Ennio Concina showed it to him. Therefore, it was not possible for me to examine it.

<sup>79</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 139: 'Aurio Mauresculo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>80</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 76: 'Et dedi Mauriano magistro argentum ad facere templos, nescio, aut tres aut quattros [...] et feci ibi altare unum. Tulit ipsos templos clericus ad ordin[...] Mauriano, et destruxit ipsum altare, et fecit exinde illos templos de sancto Quirino et medium parietem in longitudine de illo altari, quod tulit de ecclesia sancti Pantaleonis de nova Civitate'.

**Mauricius (639)**

*Magister militum*. Mauricius had the church of St Maria of Torcello built by order of Exarch Isacius.<sup>81</sup>

**Mauricius (764–797)**

*Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Mauricius (late eighth century/early ninth century)**

Son of Duke Iohannes. Co-ruler. See the appendix ‘Co-rulers’.

**Mauricius (ref 824)**

*Sacerdos*? In the document in which the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, describes what he did during his rule, Fortunatus II narrates that he gave a *dalmatica* to Mauricius.<sup>82</sup>

**Mauricius (891)**

In 891, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Western Empire, Mauricius acted as one of the legates of Duke Petrus Tribunus.<sup>83</sup>

**Maurocenus (Mauroceno), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>84</sup>

**Maurocenus (Mauroceno), Iohannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Pertusi, ‘L’iscrizione torcellana dei tempi di Eraclio’, p. 18: ‘[EST ECCL(ESIA) S(ANC)] T(E) MARIE D(E)I GENET(RICIS) EX IV(SSIONE PIO ET / [DEVOTO D(OM)]N(O) N(OSTRO) ISAACIO EXCELL(ENTISSIMO EX(AR)C(HO) PATRICIO ... FABR(ICA) T(A) ES[T] / [A FVUDAM(ENTIS PER B(ENE))] M(ERITUM) M[A]VR[ICIV]M GLOR[I] OSVM MAGISTROMI(LITVM) / [PROV(INCIE) VENET]IAR[VM] RESE[D]EN[T]EM IN HVNC LOCVM SVVM’.

<sup>82</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 78: ‘In sancta ecclesia majori dedi per sacerdotes inter castone et siricas planetas XVI, credo, et amplius, dalmaticas VIII: septem sunt, et de una fecit sibi diaconus Venerius tunicam, et de alia Mauricius, qui in perditione ambulavit, tunicas syricas octo de bono linteamine’.

<sup>83</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 22, pp. 30–31: ‘quia Petrus, Venetiarum dux, per legatos suos Dominicum videlicet presbiterum et capellanum suum, Mauricium quoque atque Vitalem, veneticos ...’.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: ‘Ego Dominicus Mauroceno’.

<sup>85</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: ‘Ego Iohannes Mauroceno’.

**Maurocenus (Mauroceno), Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>86</sup>

**Maurocenus, Stephanus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>87</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceno), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>88</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Iohannes (978)**

In 978, he left Venice with Duke Petrus Ursoylus and Iohannes Gradonicus and went with them to the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà where they all became monks.<sup>89</sup> John the Deacon and the author of the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli* describe Iohannes as *gener* of Petrus Ursoylus. However, the Venetian chronicler also states that the wife of the duke only had one son.<sup>90</sup> Two hypotheses are therefore viable: either Petrus Ursoylus had children from another marriage or illegitimate children,<sup>91</sup> or the Venetian chronicler and the hagiographer meant *gener* as relative, not son-in-law.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, this last hypothesis cannot be proven, because these authors only employ *gener* in this specific passage.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Mauroceno'.

<sup>87</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus Stephani Mauroceni'.

<sup>88</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Dominicus Maureceno'.

<sup>89</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 18: 'Quem Petrus dux libenter suscepit et prima nocte diei kalendarum septembriarum ipse unam cum Iohanne Gradonico, nec non Iohanne Maureceni, suo videlicet genero, nesciente uxore et filio omnibusque fidelibus, occulte de Venetia exierunt. Qui non procul a sancti Illarii monasterio equos assidentes, iam detonsis barbis velocissimo cursu viam carpere ceperunt, in tantum ut tertia die'. *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 11: 'Secuti sunt cum tres ex optimatibus suae regionis, Johannes cognomento Maurosensus, gener ejus, & Johannes Gradinicus, & Romaldus'. Peter Damiani does not mention Iohannes Maurocenus. Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v.

<sup>90</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 14: 'Erat siquidem sibi coniux Felicia nomine et merito, unius nati tantummodo mater, qui patris equivocus nomine, non dissimilis extitit opere'.

<sup>91</sup> Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 59–61.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, p. 25, n. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Berto, *The Political and Social Vocabulary of John the Deacon's 'Istoria Veneticorum'*, p. 125. It has been hypothesized that this Iohannes is the monk Iohannes Maurecenus who received a

**Maurocenus, Petrus (981)**

*Monachus*. In 981, he acted as the representative of St Hilarius to Emperor Otto II for the confirmation of the donations to the monastery of St Hilarius.<sup>94</sup> He could be *monachus* Petrus Maurocenus (983).

**Maurocenus, Dominicus († c. 982)**

Around 982, the Coloprini decided to eliminate their rivals, the Mauroceni. All of the Mauroceni, save Dominicus, were warned of the Coloprini's intentions. Dominicus was seriously wounded by several Coloprini in the square of St Petrus of Olivolo, then was taken to the monastery of St Zacharias, where he passed away after two hours of agony.<sup>95</sup>

**Maurocenus, Dominicus (ref 982)**

Dominicus was the brother of *monachus* Iohannes Maurocenus. It is likely that Dominicus was already dead by December 982, as it is said in a charter from that year that Iohannes gave the vineyard that had belonged to his brother Dominicus to a monastery.<sup>96</sup>

**Maurocenus (Mauroceni), Dominicus<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>97</sup>

donation from Duke Tribunus Menius in 982 to found the monastery of St George. Cracco, 'I testi agiografici', pp. 933–34.

<sup>94</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto*, no. 5, p. 30: 'domnus et venerabilis abbas Petrus nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Hyllarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie et finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta fluvium Une nobis suum eodem modo venerabilem misit legatum Petrum Mauricenum regularem monachum'.

<sup>95</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 20: 'Interea inter Maurecenos et Coloprinos, Venetiae proceres, maximum iurgium exortum est, adeo ut Stefanus Coloprinus cum filiorum et parentum afinitate, praedicti ducis consensu et virtute, quadam die in Maurecenos abolendos insurgeret. Sed Dei virtute huius periculi flagitium providi omnes evadendi facultatem consecuti sunt. Unus tantum illorum, id est Dominicus Maureceni, innocens in Sancti Petri Olivolensis foro detentus et diutissimae laceratus est. Cuius corpus, turpiter denudatum, semivivum ad sancti Zachariae monasterium parva lintre delatum est cumque in ecclesia positum a circumstantibus parentibus deploraretur, infra duarum orarum spacia vitalem deposuit halitum. Cuius mors suis maximum dolorem induxit, adeo ut ad hoc scelus ulciscendum oportunum expectarent tempus'.

<sup>96</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, p. 20: 'totum lacum iunctum iuxta vinea, quam tu (*Iohannes Maurocenus*) dedisti in prefato monasterio que fuit Dominico fratri tuo'.

<sup>97</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Mauroceni manu mea subscripsi'.

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Dominicus<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>98</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Iohannes (982)**

*Monachus*. Brother of Dominicus.<sup>99</sup> In December 982, Duke Tribunus Menius donated the church of St George to Iohannes Maurecenus so that the latter could found a monastery there.<sup>100</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>101</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Mauricius (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>102</sup>

**Maurecenus, Petrus (ref 982)**

Father of Petrus who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>103</sup>

**Maurecenus, Petrus (ref 982)**

Father of Stephanus who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Maureceni manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>99</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, p. 20: 'totum lacum iunctum iuxta vinea, quam tu dedisti in prefato monasterio que fuit Dominico fratri tuo'.

<sup>100</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 19–20: 'Quia tu Iohannes Maureceni monachus religione Christi traditus locum tibi abtum et ceteris secutoribus Christi diu considerans petisti tibi et posteris Christo servituris monacis dari, hoc est aecclesiam Beati Georgii Martiris que semper fuit capelle Beati Marci titulus, ius scilicet nostri palatii, ideoque nos Tribunus divina gracia dux Venecie ... damus eandem aecclesiam perpetualiter fieri monasterium ... totum lacum iunctum iuxta vinea, quam tu dedisti in prefato monasterio que fuit Dominico fratri tuo'. It has been hypothesized that this Iohannes is the same Iohannes Maurecenus who went to the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà with Duke Petrus Urosylus in 978. Cracco, 'I testi agiografici', pp. 933–34.

<sup>101</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Maureceni manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>102</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Mauricius Maureceni manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>103</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Maureceni, filius Petro Maureceni'.

<sup>104</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Stephanus Maureceni, filius Petro Maureceni, manu mea subscripsi'.

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Petrus (982)**

Son of Petrus. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>105</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Stephanus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>106</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni), Stephanus (982)**

Son of Petrus. Stephanus is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>107</sup>

**Mauricinus, Petrus (983)**

*Monacus.* Petrus was was one of Duke Tribunus Menius's three emissaries who asked Emperor Otto II to renew the privileges of the Venetians in June 983.<sup>108</sup>

**Maurocenus, Dominicus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Urseolus II in February 998.<sup>109</sup>

**Maurocenus, Dominicus (May 998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>110</sup> He might be Dominicus Maurocenus (February 998).

**Maurocenus, Iohannes (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Maureceni, filius Petro Maureceni, manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>106</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Stephanus Maureceni manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>107</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Stephanus Maureceni, filius Petro Maureceni, manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>108</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 62, p. 122: 'humiliter supplicante Tribuno, duce Veneticorum ... ac per nuntios suos Petrum Mauricinum monacum et Badoarium Noheli, nec non Petrum Andradi tribunum.'

<sup>109</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Dominicus Maurocenus.'

<sup>110</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Mauroceno... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici... qui interfuerunt.'

<sup>111</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Iohannes Maurocenus.'

**Maurocenus, Iohannes (May 998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>112</sup> He might be Iohannes Maurocenus (February 998).

**Maurocenus, Mauricius (998)**

In 998 he took part in three *placita* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno, as 'advocatus et missus' of the Venetian duke. In two documents it is stated that Mauricius is 'abitator in Rivoalto'.<sup>113</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni) Theodosius ('Theodosio), Petrus (ref † 991)**

He was the father of Petrus, who, in 991, sold five saltworks to the Abbot of St Michael Archangel, Leo. Petrus was dead by that time.<sup>114</sup>

**Maurecenus (Maureceni) Theodosius ('Theodosio), Petrus (991)**

Son of Petrus. In 991, Petrus sold five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael.<sup>115</sup>

**Maurus (640s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

<sup>112</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Joanne Mauroceno ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Joannis... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>113</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Mauricio Mauroceno ... Ibique veniens in eorum prasentia Mauricius Mauroceno, advocatus et missus domini Petri ducis Venetiarum ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Mauricii ... qui interfuerunt'. II, no. 84, p. 170: 'Mauricius Mauroceno veneticus, abitator in Rivoalto, missus et advocatus domini Petri ducis Venetiarum'. II, no. 85, p. 174: 'Mauricius Mauroceno veneticus, abitator in Rivoalto, missus et advocatus domini Petri ducis Venetiarum'.

<sup>114</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, pp. 22–23: 'ego quidem Petrus filius bone memorie Petro Maureceni Theodosio cum meis heredibus venditor ... tibi domno Leoni venerabili abbati monasterio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et a tota vestra congregacione ... hoc est super totas quinque salinas quas michi largivit predictus pater meus ... sunt in territorio vestri monasterii in vico Clugie Minoris'.

<sup>115</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, pp. 22–24: 'ego quidem Petrus filius bone memorie Petro Maureceni Theodosio cum meis heredibus venditor ... tibi domno Leoni venerabili abbati monasterio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et a tota vestra congregacione ... hoc est super totas quinque salinas quas michi largivit predictus pater meus ... sunt in territorio vestri monasterii in vico Clugie Minoris ... † Ego Petrus Maureceni Teodosio'.

**Maurus (850s/860s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Maurus (Mauro), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>116</sup>

**Maurus (Mauro), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>117</sup>

**Maurus (Mauro), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>118</sup>

**Maurus, Dominicus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>119</sup>

**Maurus, Dominicus (May 998)**

In May 998, took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>120</sup> He might be Dominicus Maurus (February 998).

**Maximus (571/579)**

*Nauclerus*. He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>121</sup>

**Maximus (648–668)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

<sup>116</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Ioannis Mauro, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>117</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Mauro manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>118</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Mauro consencientis'.

<sup>119</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Dominicus Maurus'.

<sup>120</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Mauro ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>121</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 252, no. 51: 'Maximus / [nauclerus] / [uotum solbit]'.

**Mazzamanus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>122</sup>

**Mellita (571/579)**

Daughter of Antonina and *lector* Amara and sister of Haelia. Mellita and her family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>123</sup>

**Memus (Memo),<sup>124</sup> Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>125</sup>

**Memmus (Memmo), Vitalis (ref 978/979)**

Father of Dominicus Benedictus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule.<sup>126</sup>

**Memmus, Dominicus Benedictus (978/979)**

Son of Vitalis. Dominicus Benedictus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>127</sup>

**Memmus (Memmo), Menius (991/998)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Mazzamanus'.

<sup>123</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 224, no. 4: 'Amara [lec(tor)] / et Antoni[na] / cum filiis [suis] / Haelia e[t] Mel[li]/ta uotu[m] / soluent'.

<sup>124</sup> Andrea Castagnetti believes that the Memus and the Menius are the same family. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 54.

<sup>125</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Memo'.

<sup>126</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Dominicus Benedictus, filius Vitalis Memmo, de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>127</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Dominicus Benedictus, filius Vitalis Memmo, de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

<sup>128</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Menio Memmo (*cod.: Mammo*) de Methamauco juravit et dedit'.

**Memnonus, Marinus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>129</sup>

**Mengadacceppus (Mengadacceppo) (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>130</sup>

**Menius (Menio), Trunus (probably = Tribunus) (971)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>131</sup>

**Menius, Tribunus (979–991)**

*Dux.* See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Menius, Marina (second half of tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Wife of Duke Tribunus Menius (979–991) and mother of Mauricius.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Marini Memnoni’.

<sup>130</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: ‘Signum manus Mengadacceppo’.

<sup>131</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Truno Menio’. It has been hypothesized that this person is the future Duke of Venice Tribunus Menius. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 54.

<sup>132</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 92, p. 123: ‘Marinae olim ducarisse relicte olim boni domini Tribuno Memo duci et Mauritio filio suo ...’ *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 29: ‘Anno vero tercio decimo sui ducatus isdem dux Mauricius suum filium Constantinopolim mittens’. Roberto Cessi and Gherardo Ortalli have hypothesized that she was the daughter of Duke Petrus Candianus IV: Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 340; Ortalli, *Petrus I*, p. 50, but no primary source mentions this relation. Her only connection to the Candianus family is based on the fact that the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, son of Petrus Candianus IV, donated her some estates belonging to the Candianus family in 1012. However, this does not necessarily mean that she was the patriarch’s sister. Andrea Castagnetti has supposed that Marina could be only a relative of Patriarch Vitalis Candianus. *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 92, p. 123: ‘Vitalis sancte Gradensis ecclesie patriarchis filius bone memorie domini Petri ducis Candianus ... pro condigno merito dedit donavit et concessit Marinae olim ducarisse relicte olim boni domini Tribuno Memo duci et Mauritio filio suo’. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I, 40.

**Menius, Mauricius (991; early eleventh century)**

Son of Duke Tribunus Menius and Marina Menius. In 991, his father sent Mauricius to Constantinople.<sup>133</sup>

**Michael, Joannes (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>134</sup>

**Michael, Marinus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>135</sup>

**Milianus (Miliano), Marcus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>136</sup>

**Mingolus, Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>137</sup>

**Minius, Mauricius (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 29: 'Anno vero tercio decimo sui ducatus isdem dux Mauricium suum filium Constantinopolim mittens'. *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 92, p. 123: 'Marinae olim ducarisse relicte olim boni domini Tribuno Memo duci et Mauritio filio suo ...'

<sup>134</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Joanne Michaelē ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Joannis qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>135</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Marinus Michael'.

<sup>136</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marcus Miliano dedit et juravit'.

<sup>137</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Mingolus de Methamaucho juravit et dedit'.

<sup>138</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Mauricio Minio ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Mauricii ... qui interfuerunt'.

**Minius (Minio), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>139</sup>

**Moysis (Moyse), Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>140</sup>

**Molanus, Marinus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>141</sup>

**Molinus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>142</sup>

**Monegarius, Dominicus (756–764)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Monetarius, Iohannes (820s)**

In the 820s Iohannes took part in a plot against Dukes Agnellus and Iustinianus. The attempt to overthrow the dukes failed, and Iohannes fled to King Lothar. As a result of his actions, his house and belongings were looted.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>139</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 139: 'Joannes Minio juravit et dedit'.

<sup>140</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Moyse dedit et juravit'.

<sup>141</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Marini Molani'.

<sup>142</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Molinus'.

<sup>143</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 35: 'Eo quoque tempore quidam Veneticorum conspiracyem adversum duces facere conati sunt, ex quibus duo prope sancti Gregorii ecclesiam suspensi sunt, id est Iohannes Tornaricus et Bonus Bradanisso. Iohannes autem Monetarius fuga lapsus est ad Lotharium regem; tamen quicquid habuit et domus et fortuna depopulata sunt.' As this plot is mentioned after the death of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, it has been hypothesized that it occurred between 824 and 827. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 183.

**Monatarius, Dominicus (834/835)**

Dominicus was one of the supporters of Tribune Carosus, who in 834/835 overthrew Duke Iohannes II and took possession of the ducal office. Shortly after, Carosus was deposed and Dominicus was killed.<sup>144</sup>

**Monetarius (Monetario), Leo (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>145</sup>

**Monetarius, Bezzus (998)**

In 998 he took part in the *placitum*, held in Verona, regarding the settlement of the dispute between the bishop of Belluno, and Duke Petrus Ursoylus II. It is not clear if he was a Venetian, as in the same document many non-Venetians are mentioned and two other persons are defined as 'Veneticus'.<sup>146</sup>

**Monetarius (Monetario), Michael (ref † 999)**

Father of Michael, 'clericus et futurus plebanus' of St Maria of Murano. He was already dead in 999.<sup>147</sup>

**Monetarius, Michael (999)**

'Clericus et futurus plebanus' of St Maria of Murano; son of Michael Monetarius. In 999 *clericus* Michael swore loyalty to the Bishop of Torcello, Valerius.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44: 'Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio reclusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt'.

<sup>145</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Leo Monetario dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>146</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 84, p. 170: 'Joanne venetico, qui Daneco dicitur, medico et item Joanne, qui veneticus, et Bezzo Monetario'.

<sup>147</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 87, p. 178: 'Promittens promitto ego quidem Michael e clerico, filius quondam Michaeli Monetario, futurus plebanus basilice Marie plebis murianensis, vobis domino Valerio, sanctissimo episcopo seniori nostro, et vestris successoribus'.

<sup>148</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 87, p. 178: 'Torcelli. Promittens promitto ego quidem Michael e clerico, filius quondam Michaeli Monetario, futurus plebanus basilice Marie plebis murianensis, vobis domino Valerio, sanctissimo episcopo seniori nostro, et vestris successoribus'.

**Monetarius (Monetario), Gregorius (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>149</sup>

**Monetarius, Martinus Barbus; see Barbus Monetarius, Martinus (991/1008)****Mosessus (Mosesso), Flabianus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Flabianus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>150</sup>

**Mosessus, Flabianus (991/1008)**

Son of Flabianus. Flabianus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>151</sup>

**Murgio (571/579)**

*Lector*. Husband of Bona. Murgio, his wife, and their children financed ten feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Gregorius Monetario juravit et dedit'.

<sup>150</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Flabianus, filius Flabiani Mosesso, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>151</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Flabianus, filius Flabiani Mosesso, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>152</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 234, no. 15: 'Murgio / lector / et Bona / cum filiis / suis feceru/ [nt pedes X]'.

## N

**Natalis, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>1</sup>

**Natalis (991/1008)**

*Plebanus*. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>2</sup>

**Navigaiosus (Navigaiosus), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

**Niceforus (Second half of sixth century)**

He and the *viri spectabiles* Iohannes and Laurentius commissioned a silver reliquary in honour of Saints Cantius, Cantianus, Cantianella, Quirinus, and Latinus. The reliquary was found in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>4</sup>

**Nimichanus (Nimichani), Fuscharus (978)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>5</sup>

**Nimicanus (Nimicani), Martinus (978)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus I's rule.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Natalis'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Natalis plebanus iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, Signum manus Dominici Navigaiosus'.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, VI, 2, col. 1450: '† SLAVRENTIUS VS IOANNISVS NICE FORVS SANTIS REDDEDIDBOTVM'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Fuschari Nimichani datum habuit tempore Petro duci Candiano et postea iuravit'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 57, p. 109: 'Martinus Nimicani iuravit et dedit'.

**Nimicanus, Fuscarus (ref 982)**

Fuscarus's son, whose name is not mentioned, is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>7</sup>

**Nimicanus (Nimicani), Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>8</sup>

**Nimicanus, Martinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Fuscharus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>9</sup>

**Nimicanus (Nimicani), Fuscharus (991/1008)**

Son of Martinus. Fuscharus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>10</sup>

**Ninnus (Ninni), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>11</sup>

**Nitiana (571/579)**

Wife of Concordius. Nitiana and her husband financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>12</sup>

**Nohel (ref 982)**

Father of Nohel who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus filii Fuscari Nimicani consencientis'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Nimicani dedit et juravit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Fuschari Nimicani, filius Martini Nimicani, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Fuschari Nimicani, filius Martini Nimicani, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes Ninni dedit et juravit'.

<sup>12</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 242, no. 31: 'Conc[ordi]/us et Niti/ana cum su/is f(ece)r(unt) p(edes) XXV'.

<sup>13</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Noheli, filii item Noheli,

**Nohel (982)**

Son of Nohel. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>14</sup>

**Nohel (Noheli), Badoarius (983)**

He was one of Duke Tribunus Menius's three emissaries who asked Emperor Otto II to renew the privileges of the Venetians in 983.<sup>15</sup>

**Nohel (Noheli), Ursus (996)**

He is one of the several Venetians who took part in the March 996 *placitum* at Verona aimed at settling the dispute between Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>16</sup>

**Nohel (Nohelis), Baduarius (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>17</sup>

**Nonnus (571/579)**

The *famuli* of St Eufemia Nonnus, Eusebia, Petrus, and Iohannes financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>18</sup>

**Nugigerulus; see Bennatus**

consencientis'.

<sup>14</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Noheli, filii item Noheli, consencientis'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 62, p. 122: 'humiliter supplicante Tribuno, duce Veneticorum ... ac per nuntios suos Petrum Mauricinum monacum et Badoarium Noheli, nec non Petrum Andradi tribunum'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 74, p. 149: 'Petrus Gradonico, et Dominicus Candiano et Ursus Noheli, et item Petrus Centranico et Dominicus Mastalico, Joannes et Marinus et reliqui plures'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Baduarius Nohelis (*cod.: Nobilis*), qui fieri rogavit'.

<sup>18</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie*, p. 224, no. 5: 'Famuli [s(an)c(t)ae] / ma[rtyris] / Eu[femiae] / Nonnus [et Eu]sebi[a], Petrus / et Ioha[n]nes, / pro salute / sua et omnium / suorum ex [u]ot(o) suo f(ece)r(unt) [p(edes) C]'. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 424, hypothesizes that Eusebia is the wife of Nonnus. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, I, p. 690, believes that Nonnus, Petrus, and Iohannes are Eusebia's sons.

## O

**Obeliebatus (775–798)**

*Clericus; Episcopus* of Olivolo. See the appendix ‘Bishops of Olivolo’.

**Obellierius (805–810)**

*Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Occonicus (Occonico), Dominicus (971)**

Brother of Ioannes. He and his brother are among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>1</sup>

**Occonicus, Ioannes (971)**

Brother of Dominicus. He and his brother are among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: ‘Signum manus Dominici Occonico. / Signum manus Ioannis fratris eius’.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: ‘Signum manus Dominici Occonico. / Signum manus Ioannis fratris eius’.

## P

### **Pa[...], Vitalis (ref 853)**

Father of Patricius who witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will in 853.<sup>1</sup>

### **Pamleo, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>2</sup>

### **Pantaleo [...] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

### **Papacasius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>4</sup>

### **Paradisus, Ioannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>5</sup>

### **Partegadus (Partegado), Ioannacenus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 11: 'Patricius filius Vitali Pa.....'

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Petrus Pamleo'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Pantaleo [...]'

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Papacasius'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ioannes Paradisus'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Ioannaceni Partegado'.

**Partegorus, Vitalis (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>7</sup>

**Particiacus, Ursus (911–931)**

*Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Particiacus, Petrus Badavarius (939–942)**

Son of Duke Ursus Particiacus and *Dux*. See the appendix ‘Rulers of Venice’.

**Pascalicus, Dulciolus (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. In his will the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, reports that he bought some estates belonging to Dulciolus. In this document it is stated that Dulciolus is ‘de Equilo’.<sup>8</sup>

**Pascalicus, Vitalis (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. In his will the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, states that he bought some estates belonging to Vitalis.<sup>9</sup>

**Paschales, Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius’s rule.<sup>10</sup>

**Passibo (ref 824)**

The Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, states in a document describing his actions in office that a certain Passibo, defined as *socera*, donated a *cortina* to him.<sup>11</sup> The passage is not clear and it is possible that the copyist made a mistake.

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Vitalis Partegori’.

<sup>8</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: ‘et detinemus per documenti cartulam de Dulciolo tribuno Pascalico de suprascripto vico (*Equilo*)’.

<sup>9</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: ‘per documenti cartulam de Vitale tribuno Pascalico’.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: ‘Dominicus Paschales dedit et iuravit’.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 75: ‘cortinam, quam mihi donavit socera Passibo, quam ego volui comparare de illo s. 40, tamen non minus illi merui’.

**Patricius, Marinus (834/835)**

He was one of the supporters of Tribune Carosus, who overthrew Duke Iohannes II in 834/835 and took possession of the ducal office. Shortly thereafter, Carosus was deposed and Marinus Patricius was killed.<sup>12</sup>

**Patritius (841)**

In 841 he acted as *missus* of Duke Petrus to Emperor Lothar for the renewal of the privileges of the Venetians.<sup>13</sup>

**Patricius (853)**

In 853, he witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will. He states to be son of Vitalis Pa[...].<sup>14</sup>

**Patricius, Marinus (870s ref)**

Father of Archdeacon Iohannes Patricius who became bishop of Olivolo.<sup>15</sup>

**Patricius, Iohannes (870s)**

Archdeacon; bishop of Olivolo. Son of Marinus Patricius. See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Patricius, Leo (880)**

He witnessed the pact between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in 880.<sup>16</sup>

**Patricius, Marinus (ninth century)**

The children of Marinus Patricius restored the church of St Maria.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio retrusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt'.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 56, p. 109: 'Lotharius, divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus... quia Petrus, dux ac spatarius Veneticorum, per Heverardum, fidelem comitem nostrum, ac per missum suum, Patritium nomine, deprecatus est maiestatem'.

<sup>14</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Patricius in hunc testamentum manu mea subscripsi... Notitia testium idest... Patricius, filius Vitali Pa.'

<sup>15</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 17: 'Hac tempestate Dominicus Olivolensis episcopus mortuus est, qui Olivolensem sedem annis gubernavit. Domnus Iohannes archidiaconus Marini Patricii filius in loco eius ordinatus est'.

<sup>16</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Leonis Patricii'.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 3: 'Ecclesia namque sancte Dei genetricis et virginis Mariae, quae vetustate pene consumpta manebat, a Marini Patricii filiis consolidata est'.

**Patricius, Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>18</sup>

**Paulina (before eleventh century)**

Wife of Vitales. Paulina and Vitales were mentioned in a fragment of an inscription which is no longer readable.<sup>19</sup>

**Paulitio? (early eighth century)**

*Dux*. See appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Paulus (568/569)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Paulus (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Probably the husband of Diugenia. Paul and his family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>20</sup>

**Paulus (sixth century)**

Paulus and his relatives financed twenty-seven feet of the mosaic floor of the basilica of Equilo.<sup>21</sup>

**Paulus ? (680)**

Bishop of Altino. See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Paulus (954)**

Abbot of St Michael Archangel. In 954, *marchio* and *dux* Almericus and his wife Franca donated some estates to the Abbot of St Michael Archangel, Paulus.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Patricius manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>19</sup> Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, I, no. 95, p. 147: 'REQUIICIT VITALES ET PAVLINA IVGALES EIVS †' The inscription was located in the church of St Domenico (Venice). After the demolition of this church, it was moved to the Seminario Patriarcale of Venice. Agazzi, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', pp. 570 and 575, n. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 238, no. 23: 'Paulus not(arius) et Diugenia / cum suis / uotum sol/uent'.

<sup>21</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 107, no. 3: 'Paulus cum / suis fecit / [de] donum / Dei f(ecit) p(edes) XXVII'.

<sup>22</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 2, p. 15: 'Monasterio Sancti Archangeli Michaelis qui dicitur a Brundulo qui est constructum infra iudicialia Veneciali ubi nunc Paulus abbas et custus est, ego Almericus marchio et dux ... et Franca'.

**Paulus, Dominicus (ref 971)**

Father of Ioannes who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>23</sup>

**Paulus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>24</sup> He might be the father of Ioannes Paulus.

**Paulus, Ioannes (971)**

Son of Dominicus. Ioannes is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Dorsoduro'.<sup>25</sup>

**Paulus, Martinus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>26</sup>

**Paulus (Paulo), Dominicus Jo[annes] (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>27</sup>

**Payasucus (Payasuco), Mengus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Constanciaco'.<sup>28</sup>

**Pellosus; see Golla Pellosus**

<sup>23</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis, filii Dominici Pauli, de Dorsoduro'.

<sup>24</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Signum manus Dominici Pauli, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis, filii Dominici Pauli, de Dorsoduro'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Martinus Paulus'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus Jo[...] Paulo iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Mengo Payasuco de Constanciaco iuravit et dedit'.

**Pentanus, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Dominicus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>29</sup>

**Pentanus, Dominicus (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de vico Amuriana'.<sup>30</sup>

**Pepus (Pepo), Ioannes (ref 971)**

Father of Vitus who is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>31</sup>

**Pepus, Vitus (971)**

Son of Ioannes. Vitus is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>32</sup>

**Petrolongus (Petrolongo), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>33</sup>

**Petrilongus, Leo (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>34</sup>

**Petrolongus (Petrolongo), Leo (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus, filius Joannis Pentani, de vico Amuriana dedit et juravit'.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus, filius Joannis Pentani, de vico Amuriana dedit et juravit'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Viti, filii Ioannis Pepo'.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Viti, filii Ioannis Pepo'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Petrolongo'.

<sup>34</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Signum manus Leonis Petrilingi'.

<sup>35</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Leoni Petrolongo consencientis'.

### **Petrolongus (Petrolongo), Ursonus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>36</sup>

### **Petronia (997, 998)**

Abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias. In 997 Petronia rented some properties of St Zacharias to the Barbalongolus brothers and in 998 Otto III confirmed to the abbess of St Zacharias the previous donations made to her monastery.<sup>37</sup>

### **Petronia (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Abbess of the monastery of St Laurentius. At the end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh, Petronia gave permission to Trionessa Gradonicus, nun of St Laurentius, to donate a mill to her monastery.<sup>38</sup>

### **Petrus (571/579)**

The *famuli* of St Eufemia Petrus, Iohannes, Nonnus, and Eusebia financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>39</sup>

### **Petrus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Petrus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Ursoni Petrolongo consencientis'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, p. 159: 'Petronia, divino munere abbatissa'. II, no. 80, p. 159: 'Petronia, abbatissa de monasterio sancti Zacharie in finibus Veneciarum, constructo prope palatium'.

<sup>38</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: 'imperantibus Vassillio et Constantino fratribus filliis quondam Romani ... Trionessa filia quondam domni Iohannis Gradonico monacha monasterii Sancti Laurencii, de voluntate et consensu domne Petronie venerabilis abbatisse sue et dicti loci fideicommissaria Dominici defuncti et fratris sui, pro illius amore et in remedio anime sue dedit et optullit in eodem Dei sancto zenobio ad perpetualiter possidendum super totum unum aquimollum'.

<sup>39</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 224, no. 5: 'Famuli [s(an)c(t)ae] / ma[rtyris] / Eu[femiae] / Nonnus [et Eu]sebi[a], Petrus / et Ioha[n]nes, / pro salute / sua et omnium / suorum ex [u]ot(o) suo f(ece)r(unt) [p(edes) C]'. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, I, p. 690, believes that Nonnus, Petrus, and Iohannes are Eusebia's sons.

<sup>40</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 223, no. 3: 'Petrus / notarius / uotum / soluit'.

**Petrus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Petrus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>41</sup>

**Petrus<sup>3</sup> (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Petrus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>42</sup>

**Petrus (eighth/ninth century)**

Petrus is mentioned along with Vitales in an inscription on a sarcophagus.<sup>43</sup>

**Petrus (804)**

*Diaconus* of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II. He drew up the proceedings of the *placitum* held at Risano in Istria in 804.<sup>44</sup>

**Petrus (819)**

*Presbiter*. In 819, Petrus witnessed the donation of Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius. He states to be a 'presbiter serviens monasterii beati Georgii'.<sup>45</sup>

**Petrus (825/826)**

In 825/826, Petrus, Patriarch of Grado Venerius's *missus*, and *presbiter* Iustus, *missus* of Dukes Agnellus and Iustinianus, went to Emperor Louis the Pious.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 249–50, no. 45: 'Petrus / notarius / uotum / soluit'.

<sup>42</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 252, no. 52: 'Petrus / notarius / cum suis uotu(m) / soluet'.

<sup>43</sup> Location: Murano, Museo vetrario. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 11: 'HIC REQUIESCE VITALES ET PETRUS'. The photo of the sarcophagus can be seen in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 101, no. 148.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 40, p. 67: 'Petrus, peccator, diaconus sanctae Aquileiense metropolitane ecclesiae, hanc repromissionem ex iussione domini mei Fortunati, sanctissimi patriarchae, seu Joannis, gloriosi ducis, vel suprascriptorum episcoporum et primum populi Istriae provinciae scripsi et post roborationem testium cartulam roboravit'.

<sup>45</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Petrus peccator presbiter serviens Monasterii beati Georgii in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'. It has been hypothesized that the 'monasterium beati Georgii' could be either 'San Giorgio di Pineto' or a chapel located where the monastery of St George was founded in 982. Pozza, 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani', pp. 21–22.

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 46, p. 80: 'Direximus autem apud sacra imperialia vestigia domini nostri missum nostrum Petrum una cum Iusto presbitero, misso Agnelli et Iustiniani fidelium vestrorum ac filiorum nostrorum'.

**Petrus (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Son-in-law of Tribune Rosaly. Petrus is mentioned in Duke Iustinianus's will.<sup>47</sup>

**Petrus (836–864)**

*Dux*; father of Iohannes. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Petrus (864, 876, 877)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Equilo'.

**Petrus (870s)**

*Diaconus. Patriarcha*. See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Petrus (880)**

He was probably the son of co-ruler Iohannes, Duke Ursus II's son. Petrus subscribed the pact between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in 880.<sup>48</sup>

**Petrus (880/887)**

Son of Duke Ursus II and co-ruler. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

**Petrus (908)**

*Subdiaconus et notarius*. In 908 Petrus made a copy of the 819 donation that Duke Agnellus and his son and co-regent duke, Iustinianus, made to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>49</sup>

**Petrus? (919?)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Petrus? (932/939)**

In 932/939, the Bishop of Verona, Ratherius, sent a letter to one 'Petrus Veneticus', praising monastic life and trying to convince him to become a monk.<sup>50</sup> Some scholars have hypothesized that 'Petrus Veneticus' should be identified with Duke Petrus Candianus II, but there is no general consensus about his identity. Moreover, one cannot be sure that the letter was addressed to 'Petrus

<sup>47</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'Aquimulos autem rotas duas quas habere visus sum de Petro tribuno genero quidem Rosaly tribuno'.

<sup>48</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Petri filii Ioannis ducis'.

<sup>49</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: 'Ego Petrus subdiaconus atque notarius exemplavi in anno incarnationis domini nostri Yehsu Christi nongentesimo octavo, nec ampliavi nec minui Deo solo teste'.

<sup>50</sup> *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, no. 3, pp. 21–27

Veneticus' either; the name of the addressee is never mentioned in the epistle and the fact that it was sent to 'Petrus Veneticus' could be a later addition.<sup>51</sup>

### **Petrus (960)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Civitas Nova-Heracliana'.

### **Petrus (960)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

### **Petrus [...] (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>52</sup>

### **Petrus (971)**

Son of Bondandinus. Petrus is among the signatories of the prohibition against trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>53</sup>

### **Petrus (978/979)**

Son of Carosus 'de Castello'. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'habitor Methamauci'.<sup>54</sup>

### **Petrus (981)**

*Abbas* of St Hilarius and St Benedict. In 981 Emperor Otto II confirmed to Abbot Petrus the previous donations made to the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict.<sup>55</sup>

### **Petrus (982)**

He was probably the son of *magister* Dimitrius and brother of Dominicus. He and Dominicus are among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> For further information and discussion about this issue, see the notes to the edition of the letter, Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 315, and Ortalli, *Ursus I*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Petrus [...]']'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Petri, filii Bondandini'.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Petrus, filius Caroso, de Castello, habitator Methamauci, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 5, p. 30: 'Otto superna ordinante providentia imperator augustus... domnus et venerabilis abbas Petrus nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Hylarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie et finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta fluvium Une'.

<sup>56</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus, Magistri Dimitrio, manu mea subscripsi'.

**Petrus (ref 979/991)**

*Presbiter* 'de Sancto Iacobo'. He was the former owner of the *libertus* Iohannes Langobardus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>57</sup>

**[...], Petrus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Ioannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>58</sup>

**Petrus (995)**

*Presbiter*. In 995 Petrus acted as the representative of St Zacharias in a *placitum* concerning some estates of the monastery in Monselice.<sup>59</sup>

**Petrus (998)**

*Diaconus; capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II. In 998 Petrus and Abbess of St Zacharias, Petronia, asked Emperor Otto III to confirm the donations to the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>60</sup>

**Petrus (991/1008)**

*Libertus*. Former slave of Joannes Victor. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>61</sup>

**Petrus (991/1008)**

*Diaconus*. According to the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule, the deacon Petrus received two *librae* for some *papienses denarii*.<sup>62</sup> This detail might indicate that Petrus was not Venetian.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Ioannes Langobardo, liberto Petro presbitero de sancto Iacobo, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: Ioannes, filius Petri ..., dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 72, p. 147: 'ibique in eorum venerunt presencia Johannes presbiter Stanarius et Petrus, item presbiter, officiales beatissimi sancti Zacharie prophete monasterio non multum longe a palacio Rivoalto, in civitate Veneciarum, una cum Dominico avvocato, eorum et pars iam dicti monasterii sancti Zacharie'.

<sup>60</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 79, pp. 159–60: 'Octo, divina favente clementia, Romanorum imperator augustus ... qualiter Petronia, abbatissa de monasterio sancti Zacharie in finibus Venetiarum constructo prope palatium, et Petrus, diaconus, capellanus ducis Veneciarum, noster fidelis, nostram adierunt clementiam'.

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Petrus, liberto Joanni Victori, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>62</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Greculo dedit duas

**Petrus (991/1008)**

Son of *presbiter* Justus and brother of Joannes. Petrus and Joannes are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus's rule. In this document it is stated that they are 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>63</sup>

**Petrus (Petri), Marinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. It is reported that he is 'de Amurianas'.<sup>64</sup>

**Petrus (900/1094)**

*Diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palacii*. He drew up the copy of the charter (900) in which Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>65</sup> It is not known when this took place, but occurred before 1094 because the following copy of that document was made on that date.<sup>66</sup>

**Philippus (after 829/tenth century)**

Monk. The *De miraculis et virtutibus S. Marci evangelistae*, composed in the tenth century at the abbey of Reichenau, narrates that two *fratres*, Simeon 'de Grecia' and Philippus 'de Venetia', left Jerusalem and went to Reichenau to join the monastery. Apparently they did not believe that the body of St Mark was preserved in the abbey. They later changed their minds after the saint appeared to them in a dream.<sup>67</sup>

libras, quas dedimus Petro diacono propter papie[n]ses denarios, quos Joannes diaconus habuit Romae propter expensam'.

<sup>63</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Joannes et Petrus, filii presbiteri Justi, de Methamauco juraverunt et dederunt decimum'.

<sup>64</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Marinus Petri de Amurianas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>65</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ista est exempla de illa alia vetere nec ampliavi nec minui, set cum testes scripsi atque complevi ... Ego Petrus, diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palacij, complevi et scripsi veraciter'.

<sup>66</sup> Lazzarini, 'Un privilegio del doge Pietro Tribuno per la badia di S. Stefano d'Altino', p. 149.

<sup>67</sup> *De miraculis et virtutibus S. Marci evangelistae*, p. 148: 'Contigit ut duo fratres de ierosolyma pergentes quondam ad nostrum devenere monasterium qui dicunt pene omnia circuire maritima loca; Unus erat de graecia alter de uenetia, prior fuit symeon nuncupatus, posterior philippus; Hi vero dum nostrum visitarent monasterium, cupiebant se nostro adiungere consortio; Quod sicut petierunt, ita impleverunt; Dum adhuc novo uterentur hospitio, dubitabant vere beatum marcum ibi manere ...'.

**Pigianicus (Pigianico), Trunus (probably = Tribunus) (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>68</sup>

**Piscator, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>69</sup>

**Pitulus, Benigellus (ref † 1011/1012)**

Grandfather of Bona and Maria and father-in-law of Iohannes Dedus. In 1011/1012 Bona and Maria, daughters of Iohannes Dedus, donated an estate called Rugia, which their grand-father Benigellus Pitulus had left to them in his will, to the church of St Fosca of Torcello.<sup>70</sup>

**Plaseghus, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>71</sup>

**Primogenius (628–48)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Primollus (Primollo), Marconus (ref 829)**

Father of Tribunes Iohannes and Laurencius who are mentioned in Duke Iustinianus's will. In this document it is stated that Marconus is 'de Equilo'.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Truno Pigianico'.

<sup>69</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Piscator'.

<sup>70</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 42, pp. 284–85: 'nos quidem Maria et Bona ambas sorores filias Iohannis Dedo de Torcello cum nostris heredibus ac proheredibus dans damus et offerimus in ecclesia Beate Fusce episcopato Torcellensis pro futurum possidendi id est terrenas et palludes qui vocatur Rugia cum aucellatione et piscatione sua que nobis largivit Benigello Pitulus avus noster per testamenti cartula quantum nobis pertinuit cum omnibus suis lateribus et capitibus. Quas ipsas terrena et pallude dans damus et tradimus in predicta Dei ecclesia pro mercede anime nostre et parentum nostrorum'.

<sup>71</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis Plaseghi'.

<sup>72</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per II. documenti cartas de Iohanne et Laurencio germanis et tribunis filius quidem Marconi Primollo de Equilo'.

**Primollus, Iohannes (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Son of Marconus and brother of Laurencius. In his will, Duke Iustinianus says that he bought some estates belonging to Iohannes and his brother Laurencius.<sup>73</sup>

**Primollus, Laurencius (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Son of Marconus and brother of Iohannes. In his will, Duke Iustinianus says that he bought some estates belonging to Laurencius and his brother Iohannes.<sup>74</sup>

**Probina (571/579)**

Mother of *notarius* Thomas. Probina and her son state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>75</sup>

**Probinus (570s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Probus (571/579)**

Probus states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>76</sup>

**Provincialis (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>77</sup>

**Putas, Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per II. documenti cartas de Iohanne et Laurencio germanis et tribunis filius quidem Marconi Primollo de Equilo'.

<sup>74</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'per II. documenti cartas de Iohanne et Laurencio germanis et tribunis filius quidem Marconi Primollo de Equilo'.

<sup>75</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 240, no. 26: 'Probina c(um) / filio suo / Thomate / notario / uotum / soluent'.

<sup>76</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 248, no. 41: 'Probus / u[otum] / s[oluit]'.

<sup>77</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Provincialis, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>78</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Martinus Putas iuravit et dedit'.

## R

### **Rabecus ? (unknown date)**

Rabecus is mentioned in a fragment of an inscription located on a sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup>

### **Ractanasius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>2</sup>

### **Raganarius, Marcus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

### **Rapedellus (Rapedello), Martinus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>4</sup>

### **Rapedellus (Rapedello), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>5</sup>

### **Raphael (900)**

*Presbiter et notarius.* In 900 he drew up the charter with which Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Location: Murano: St Maria and St Donato. R. Cessi has hypothesized that two different inscriptions are present on this sarcophagus. According to him, Rabecus is mentioned in the second one. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, V, P, p. 200: '† Hic requiescat / Ra|be|eum / Domine'. Different reading in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 76, no. 116: 'IC REQUIEVIT BARBO E.A. / BE EUM ANE'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Ractanasius'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 91: 'Signum manus Marci Raganarii'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus Martini Rapedello'.

<sup>5</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Petri Rapedello consencientis'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ego Raphael presbiter et notarius complevi et roboravi'.

**Reginus (Regini), Bonus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>7</sup>

**Renus (Reni)?, Petrus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>8</sup>

**Reparatus (end of the sixth century)**

Reparatus and Iohannes state that they fulfilled their vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>9</sup>

**Restaldus (979/991)**

*Libertus* of Dominicus Florentius. Restaldus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>10</sup>

**Romana (571/579)**

Romana, Lucinus, Lucianus and Luciana financed one hundred feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Bono Regini consencientis'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Petrus reni etc. [*sic*]'. The text is not clear and therefore we cannot be sure that *Reni* is a family name. Andrea Castagnetti thinks that it is. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 625.

<sup>9</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 209, no. 9: 'DOA .../...MA..../ ERROCIN. / [u]ot(um) solb(it or erunt) / [I]ohannis / [et] Reparatus'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Restaldo, liberto Dominico Florentio, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>11</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 229, no. 9: 'S(e)ru[us] Chr(ist)i / [Lucinus], Ro/[mana, Lu]cia/[nus et Luci]ana / [fec]erunt p(edes) C'. Caillet states that Lucianus and Luciana might be the children of Lucinus and Romana. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Romana is the wife of Lucinus. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, II, 301.

**Romana (829)**

Wife of Agnellus, co-regent Duke and Duke Iustinianus's son. Her husband probably died in the 820s.<sup>12</sup> In his will Duke Iustinianus names his wife Felicitas and his daughter-in-law Romana as his heirs.<sup>13</sup>

**Romana (853)**

Sister of the Bishop of Olivolo, Ursus. *Dei ancilla*. In 853, Bishop Ursus appointed his sister Romana as executor of his will.<sup>14</sup>

**Rosalý (ref 829)**

*Tribunus*. Father-in-law of Tribune Petrus who is mentioned in Duke of Venice Iustinianus's will.<sup>15</sup>

**Rossus (Rosso), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>16</sup>

**Rossus (Rosso), Leo (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>17</sup>

**Rossus (Rosso), Marinus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33.

<sup>13</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 19: 'Vos vero Felicitate, uxore mea et Romana nurem meam heredes michi instituo, heredesque meas esse volo in mea hac pro filii mei hereditatem in ternas uncias principales in integro ...'

<sup>14</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 7–8: 'nullus sit ex proximis meis vel estraneis qui in ea habeat potestatem dominandum per quovis ingenium nisi sola Romana soror mea, ita ut in omnibus diebus vitae suae hordinandum recte et meliorandum in omnibus et non alienandum, sed sacrificium offerendum et laudes Deo decantando et pro delictarum animarum parentorum meorum et mea ... talis adveniat hordinatio de hanc germana Dei ancilla ...'

<sup>15</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 21: 'Aquimulos autem rotas duas quas habere visus sum de Petro tribuno genero quidem Rosaly tribuno.'

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Ego Dominicus Rosso'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Leonis Rosso'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marinus Rosso dedit et juravit'.

**Rosolus, Petrus (947/948)**

In the sixth year of Duke Petrus Candianus III's rule, Petrus Rosolus and Ursus Badovarius led a fleet against the Narentans.<sup>19</sup>

**Ruibulus (Ruibulo), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>20</sup>

**Rusticus (827/828)**

Rusticus and Bonus are the two Venetians who smuggled the relics of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice. The anonymous author of the 'Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias' narrates that Rusticus and his mate were at Alexandria along with other Venetians and that Rusticus was from Torcello.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 6: 'Igitur Petrus Candianus dux, quem prediximus, sexto sui ducatus anno triginta et tres naves, quas Venetici gumbarias nominant, contra Narrentanos Sclavos misit, quibus Ursus Badovarius et Petrus Rosolus prefuerunt, qui absque effectu reversi sunt'.

<sup>20</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominico co Ruibulo consencientis'.

<sup>21</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, IX. 3, p. 53: 'Porro Veneticorum naves quae Deo trahente advenerant decem erant, in quibus pariter omnes nobiles viri, inter quos erant clarissimi Bonus tribunus Metamaucensis et Rusticus Torcellensis'.

## S

**Sabatinus (ref 888)**

In a document issued in 888 by the King of Italy, Berengar, there is a mention of a donation made by the Venetian Sabatinus to St Columbanus in Comacchio.<sup>1</sup>

**Sadarzanus (Sadarzani), Dominicus Jubianus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Constanciaco'.<sup>2</sup>

**Sadulus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>3</sup>

**Sagorninus (Sagornino), Iohannes (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Ottolus Becharius, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>4</sup>

**Sayrninus (Sayrnino), Dominicus (ref 979/991)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Baruzzus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>5</sup>

**Sambo (fifth/sixth century)**

Sambo and his relatives financed twenty feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 19, p. 27: 'propriumque quod Sabatinus veneticus in Quomaclo sancto Columbano tradidit'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus Jubiano Sadarzani de Constanciaco iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Sadulus'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Ottolo Bechario, liberto Iohanni Sagornino, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>5</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Baruzzo, liberto Dominico Sayrnino, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>6</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 204, no. 2: 'Sambo / cum suis / fecet p(edes) XX'.

**Sapinus, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>7</sup>

**Saponarius (Saponario), Leo (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>8</sup>

**Saponarius, Dominicus (979/991)**

Son of Leo. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>9</sup>

**Saponarius, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>10</sup>

**Sartaricus (Sartarico), Orsecenus (ref 829)**

Father of Cezaria, who is mentioned in Duke Iustinianus's will.<sup>11</sup>

**Sartaricus, Cezaria (ref 829)**

Daughter of Orsecenus. In his will Duke Iustinianus states that he bought some estates belonging to Cezaria.<sup>12</sup>

**Sartor, Tinus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ego Dominicus Sapinus'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Dominicus filius Leonis Saponario dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 113: 'Dominicus filius Leonis Saponario dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Saponarius'.

<sup>11</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'de Cezaria filia quidem Orseceno Sartarico'.

<sup>12</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'de Cezaria filia quidem Orseceno Sartarico'.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Tino Sartoris'.

**Satullus (Satullo), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>14</sup>

**Scandolarius, Martinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Martinus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>15</sup>

**Scandolarius, Martinus (991/1008)**

Son of Martinus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>16</sup>

**Scarabaucus (998)**

Abbot of St Michael Archangel. Petrus from Sacco donated some estates located in the mainland to Abbot Scarabaucus in 998.<sup>17</sup>

**Scavianicus (Scavianico), Milianus (ref 979/991)**

Father of Felix and Marcus who are mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>18</sup>

**Scavianicus, Felix (979/991)**

Son of Milianus. Felix is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Joannes Satullo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Martinus, filius Martini Scandolarii, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Martinus, filius Martini Scandolarii, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>17</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 4, p. 25: 'ego Petrus filius quondam Benedicto de loco qui dicitur Sacco ... ab hac die in eadem ecclesia et in eodem monasterio Sancti Angeli donamus, cedimus, offerimus ... seu monasterii seu domno Scarabauco abbate et suis successoribus'.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Felix, filius Miliano Scavianico, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Felix, filius Miliano Scavianico, dedit et juravit'.

**Scavianicus, Marcus (979/991)**

Son of Milianus. Marcus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>20</sup>

**Scutarius, Joannes (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>21</sup>

**Secolaris (or Seconius) (571/579)**

*Lector, amanuensius*, and *domesticus* of St Eufemia. He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>22</sup>

**Secretus (Secreto), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>23</sup>

**Senator († 875/876)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Senator, Vitalis (ref 1001 or 1005)<sup>24</sup>**

In a donation to the bishopric of Torcello, dated to 1001 or 1005, it is said that some lands, located in 'Septe Salaria', belonged to Vitalis Senator.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marcus, filius Miliano Scavianico, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Signum manus Joannis Scutarii'.

<sup>22</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 254, no. 55: Seco[laris, or -nius] / lecto[r?] et ... ama]/nuens[is], / [domes]tigi sa(n)ct[ae] / [Eu]fimiae u[irginis?] / [uo]tum so[luerunt].

<sup>23</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 139: 'Joannes Secreto juravit et dedit'.

<sup>24</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>25</sup> Information mentioned in a document written in 1301. *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43,

**Serges (fifth/sixth century)**

Husband of Thecla and father of Theodorus. Serges, his wife, their son, Anastasia and her relatives financed forty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>26</sup>

**Sergius (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>27</sup>

**Serzem, Iohannes (978/979)**

Iohannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamaucho'.<sup>28</sup>

**Sesennulus (Sesennulo), Andrea (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>29</sup>

**Sesennulus, Andreas (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>30</sup>

**Sesinius (sixth century)**

*Cubicolarius*. Sesinius states that he fulfilled his vow in Grado's baptistery.<sup>31</sup>

p. 299: 'atque damus et offerimus similiter ipsas terrenas de Septe Salaria qui fuit Vitalis Senatori cum aucellatione et piscatione sua'.

<sup>26</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 207, no. 8: 'Serges et Thecl/a et Théodorus / filius eorum / et Anastasia cum suis fe/cerunt pe/des XXXXV'.

<sup>27</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Sergius, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: 'Iohannes Serzem de Methamaucho iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>29</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Andrea Sesennulo consencientis'.

<sup>30</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Andreas Sesennulus'.

<sup>31</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 216: 'Sesi[nius] / cubico[la]/rius uot(um)/ soluit'.

**Sevancinus (579)**

*Presbiter*. He took part in the synod of Grado (579).<sup>32</sup>

**Severa (571/579)**

Wife of *caligarius* Domnicus. Severa and her husband financed fifteen feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>33</sup>

**Severina (571/579)**

Wife of *miles* Iohannis. Severina and her husband financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>34</sup>

**Severinus (720s/730s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Severus (late 580s–beginning of the seventh century)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Severus (Severo), Marcus Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Muriana'.<sup>35</sup>

**Sgaudarius (Sgaudario), Bonus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, p. 13: 'Sevancinus, presbyter, super statutis Deo gratias agens subscripsi'.

<sup>33</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 243, no. 33: 'Domnicus caliga/rius cum coniuge / sua Seuera [fecit]/runt pedes [XV]'.

<sup>34</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 240, no. 28: 'Iohannis / mil(es) de num(ero) / Cadisiano / cum uxore / sua Seuerina / fecer(unt) p(edes) XXV'.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Marcus Petro Severo de Muriana dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Bonus Sgaudario'.

**Sgaudarius (Sgaudario), Leo (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>37</sup>

**Sgaudarius (Sgaudario), Valentinus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>38</sup>

**Sguadarius, Valentinus (ref 998)**

Father of Ursus, who is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>39</sup>

**Sgaudarius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>40</sup>

**Sguadarius, Ursus (998)**

Son of Valentinus. Ursus is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>41</sup>

**Sgiros, Dedus/Deusdetus (Dedo/Deusdeto) (ref 853)**

*Tribunus.* Father of Tribune Fuscarius who witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>42</sup>

**Sgiros, Fuscarius (Fuscari) (853)**

*Tribunus.* Son of Tribune Dedus/Deusdetus. Fuscarius witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Leonis Sgaudario'.

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Signum manus Valentini Sgaudario'.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ursus, filius Valentini Sguadarii'.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Joannes Sgaudarius'.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Ursus, filius Valentini Sguadarii'.

<sup>42</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: 'Fuscari, tribunus, filius Dedo tribuni, in hoc testamento rogato ab eo testis subscripsi ... Notitia testium ... Fuscari filius Deusdeto Sgiros'.

<sup>43</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: 'Fuscari, tribunus, filius Dedo tribuni, in hoc testamento rogato ab eo testis subscripsi ... Notitia testium ... Fuscari filius Deusdeto Sgiros'.

**Sylvus (Sylvo), Dominicus (982)**

He witnessed the foundation of the monastery of St George (982).<sup>44</sup>

**Silvus, Domenicus (983)**

He was one of the Venetians who left Venice with Stefanus Coloprinus and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Domenicus and Petrus Tribunus had the task of stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through Mestre.<sup>45</sup>

**Simplicia (571/579)**

Wife of Martinianus. Simplicia, her husband and their children financed one hundred (or fifty) feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>46</sup>

**Simpliciacus (Simpliciaco), Marinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Petrus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>47</sup>

**Simpliciacus, Petrus (991/1008)**

Son of Marinus. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>48</sup>

**Siranus (Sirano), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, p. 22: 'Signum manus Dominici Sylvo consencientis'.

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 24–25: 'Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25.] Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur, Ursus Badovarius Athesim fluvium previderet, Dominicus quidem Silvo cum Petro Tribuno Mistrinis partibus insisterent'.

<sup>46</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 236, no. 19: 'Martini/anus et Simplicia / cum fili/is suis / f(ecerunt) p(edes) C (or L?)'.

<sup>47</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus, filius Marini Simpliciaco, iuravit et dedit decimum'.

<sup>48</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Petrus, filius Marini Simpliciaco, iuravit et dedit decimum'.

<sup>49</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Sirano manu mea subscripsi'.

**Sochin Zorchus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. Since the list states that 'Sochin Zorchus, Papie qui fuit, in moneta Venetiae dedit',<sup>50</sup> it is not clear whether or not he was a Venetian.

**Sodimpoggia, Dominicus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>51</sup>

**Sophia (991/1008)**

Sophia is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. It is said that a *pallium* was sent to her.<sup>52</sup> It is not clear whether or not she was a Venetian.

**Sparessus, Iohannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>53</sup>

**Sparessus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>54</sup>

**Spessus (Spesso), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Sochin Zorchus, Papie qui fuit, in moneta Venetiae dedit et juravit'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Dominicus Sodimpoggia'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Lugnano Boyso dedit duo pallia, quae recepit Joannes Adoaldus propter pallium, quod misimus domne Sophiae'.

<sup>53</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Iohannes Sparessus manu propria subscripsi'.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Sparessus, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>55</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis Spesso'.

**Spetamirus (Spetamiri), Joannes (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>56</sup>

**Staniarius, Johannes (995)**

*Presbiter*. In 995 Johannes acted as the representative of St Zacharias in a *placitum* concerning some estates of the monastery in Monselice.<sup>57</sup>

**Staphilus (ref 991/1008)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Helias who is in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>58</sup>

**Stavilus (Stavilo) (ref 979/991)**

Father of Dominicus 'de Aequilo' who is in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>59</sup>

**Stefanus (571/579)**

*Nauclerius*. Stefanus and his relatives financed a part of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>60</sup>

**Stefanus (end of the sixth century)**

*Miles numeri Tarbisiani turmae Iustini*. Stefanus states that he fulfilled his vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie (Grado).<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Joannes Spetamiri juravit et dedit'.

<sup>57</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 72, p. 147: 'ibique in eorum venerunt presencia Johannes presbiter Staniarius et Petrus, item presbiter, officiales beatissimi sancti Zacharie prophete monasterio non multum longe a palacio Rivoalto, in civitate Veneciarum, una cum Dominico avvocato, eorum et pars iam dicti monasterii sancti Zacharie'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Helias, libertus Staphili, de Equilo juravit et dedit'.

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Dominicus, filius Stavilo, de Aequilo, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>60</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, pp. 238–39, no. 24: 'Stefanus / nauclerius / cum suis / fecit [pe]/des ...'.

<sup>61</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 209, no. 10: 'Stefan[us] / mili(s) n(u)m(eri) / Ta[r]b(isiani) t(urmae) Ius/t(i)ni uot(um) / solb(it)'.

**Στέφανος (= Stephanus) (sixth century/beginning of the seventh century)**

σινάτορ σχολῆς ἀρματοῦρων (= *sinator of scholae armaturarum*). In an inscription Stephanus states that he fulfilled a vow.<sup>62</sup>

**Stephanus? (ref 627)**

Patriarch Fortunatus (627) promised to give Marianus a certain *domus Stephani* ('house of Stephanus'), probably located in or near Grado.<sup>63</sup>

**Stephanus (668–672)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Stephanus (683/685)**

Iohannes's elder daughter was given in marriage to Stephanus, but she died before the wedding. Iohannes then asked the Patriarch of Grado, Agatho, and Pope Benedict II if Stephanus could marry his other daughter. The pope replied that this was possible if all persons involved agreed to the wedding.<sup>64</sup>

**Steffana (ref 829)**

*Christi famula*. Daughter of Gatulus and sister of Maria. In his will the Duke of Venice, Iustinianus, states that he bought some estates belonging to Steffana and her sister Maria.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Forlati Tamaro, 'Un cimelio di Lison di Portogruaro', col. 163: '† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Στεφάνου σινάτορος σχολῆς ἀρματοῦρῳ(ν)'. The inscription was discovered at Lison of Portogruaro (Venice) and is on an arch that was probably a part of a tabernacle (*ciborium*).

<sup>63</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 14, p. 25: 'domum quandam Stephani uti constituta civitate'. It has been hypothesized that this letter is a forgery. Conte, *Chiesa e primato*, p. 441, n. 129.

<sup>64</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 15, pp. 25–26: 'Benedictus, servus servorum Dei, Gradensi patriarchae salute ... quidam vestro nomine Ioannes pro connubio filiae suae superstitis, cuius soror defuncta cuidam inveni Stephano nomine simplicibus verbis fuerat desponsata, et, antequam ad nuptias perveniret, morte praeventa, utrum scilicet cum eodem iuvene possit matrimonium celebrari superstitis filiae, necne. Namque testatus est huius rei rationem apud vos haberi ambiguum, quam, Deo docente, reddimus his verbis certissimam ... Quoniam vero ita prorsus sese habet res Ioannis istius, ut velit secundam filiam illi nuptiis copulare, cui primam iam decreverat desponsare, censura apostolici magistratus mandamus hoc absque ullius vitio posse fieri, si utriusque partis rederit voluntati'.

<sup>65</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 20: 'Detinemus per documenti cartulam de Maria et Steffana Christi famulas et germanas filia quidem Gatulo de suprascripto vico (*Equilo*)'.

**Stenoboncius, Justus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>66</sup>

**Storlatus; see Sturlatus****Stornatus (Stornato), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>67</sup>

**Stornatus (Stornato), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>68</sup>

**Stornatus (Stornato), Stephanus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>69</sup>

**Stornatus (Stornato), Vitalis (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>70</sup>

**Stornadus (Stornado), Iohannes (1001 or 1005)<sup>71</sup>**

Son-in-law of Petrus Falletrus. Following his father-in-law's last wishes, in 1001 or 1005 Iohannes donated three wheels of the mill 'de Folenicus', the *pantanus* where the latter was located, and some estates in 'Litus Bovensis', 'Rivo da

<sup>66</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 165: 'Justus Stenoboncius'.

<sup>67</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Dominici Stornato'.

<sup>68</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Stornato consencientis'.

<sup>69</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Stephanus Stornato manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>70</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Vitalis Stornato consencientis'.

<sup>71</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohanis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

Nassa, 'Luvinio', and 'Septe Salaria' to the bishopric of Torcello for the soul of Petrus Falletrus.<sup>72</sup>

**Sturladus, Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>73</sup>

**Sturladus, Laurencius (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>74</sup>

**Sturlatus (Sturlato), Iohannes (ref 982)**

Father of Leo, who is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>75</sup>

**Storlatus (Storlato), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Information mentioned in a document written in 1301. *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'Quapropter ego quidem Iohannes Stornado qui fui fideconmissarius Petro Falletro socero meo cum meis heredibus ab hodierna die ob divino amore et remedio anime predicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro seu et pro parentorum eius anime indulgentie a presenti die damus, donamus atque offerimus in episcopatu sancte genitricis Dei et virginis Marie sede sancte Altinatis ecclesie seu et vobis domino Valerio venerabili episcopo et a vestris successoribus de ipso aquimolo de Folenicus rodas tres macenante cum suo pantano qui fuit imadicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro que ille largivit per suam cartam testamenti in iamdicto Dei episcopatu et ipsas terrenas de Litus Bovensis cum aucellatione et piscatione sua qui dicitur ipsas terrenas Rivo da Nassa seu toto Luvinio cum aucellatione et piscatione sua atque damus et offerimus similiter ipsas terrenas de Septe Salaria qui fuit Vitalis Senatori cum aucellatione et piscatione sua omnia ex omnibus sicut ab auctoribus et proauctoribus et a prefato Petro comisso nostro possemus fuit'.

<sup>73</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Dominici Sturladi, qui hoc fieri rogavit'.

<sup>74</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Laurencii Sturladi'.

<sup>75</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Leoni filii Iohanni Sturlato consencientis'.

<sup>76</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Storlato consencientis'.

**Sturlatus, Leo (982)**

Son of Iohannes. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>77</sup>

**Superantius, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Bassadellus, who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that Joannes is 'de Castello'.<sup>78</sup>

**Superantius, Bassadellus (991/1008)**

Son of Joannes. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>79</sup>

**Suria (ref 829)**

Daughter of Duke Mauricius and sister of Agatha. She is mentioned in Duke Iustinianus's will.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Leoni filii Iohanni Sturlato consencientis'.

<sup>78</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Bassadellus Superantius, filius Joannis de Castello, dedit decimas et juravit'.

<sup>79</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Bassadellus Superantius, filius Joannis de Castello dedit decimas et juravit'.

<sup>80</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: 'De territoria qui sunt infra fines Civitatis Nove quas donacionis cartula habere et tenere visi sumus de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie, quod ei in divisione obvenit da Suria germana eius'. I believe that it is unlikely that Agatha and Suria are the daughters of Mauricius, co-regent Duke and son of Duke Iohannes. On this issue, see Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 615.

## T

**Talaricus (Talarico), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>1</sup>

**Tala[ssius] (571/579)**

Talassius and Ben[...] state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>2</sup>

**Talonicus, Leonianus (819)**

In 819, Leonianus witnessed the donation made by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>3</sup>

**Talonicus, Savinus (819)**

In 819, Savinus witnessed the donation made by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>4</sup>

**Talonicus, Stephanus (819)**

In 819, he witnessed the donation made by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>5</sup>

**Tancia (seventh century/ninth century)**

Tancia is mentioned in an inscription.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Talarico consentientis'.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 254, no. 56: 'Tala[ss(i?)us] / et Ben[...] / uotu[m soluunt]'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Leonianus Talonicus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>4</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Savinus Talonicus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>5</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 11: '† Stephanus Talonicus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, V, B, p. 198: 'Tancia fi. — filius meus — timporibu'. Michela Agazzi hypothesizes that her name was Costancia. Agazzi, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', p. 566.

**Tanconessus (Tanconesso), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Amurianas'.<sup>7</sup>

**Tanolicus (Tanolico), Dominicus (982)**

*Presbiter*. He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>8</sup>

**Tanolicus (Tanolico), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>9</sup>

**Taralessus (Taralesso), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>10</sup>

**Taralessus, Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>11</sup>

**Tarvisanus (Tarvisano), Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Dominicus Tanconesso de Amurianas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>8</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus presbiter Tanolico manu mea subscripsi'. Andrea Castagnetti believes that the Tanolici are the Talonici. Castagnetti, 'Famiglie ed affermazione politica', p. 617.

<sup>9</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohanni Tanolico consentis'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Dominici Taralessus'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Dominici Taralessi'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Ioannis Tarvisano'.

**Taurinus (Taurino), Petrus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>13</sup>

**Tencha, Martinus Hugarda; see Hugarda Tencha, Martinus****Tenca, Petrus (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus Tenca 'de Ferrara'. Petrus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>14</sup>

**Tentoressus, Vitalis (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>15</sup>

**Teodanus, Bonus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>16</sup>

**Tertius (571/579)**

He states that he fulfilled his vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>17</sup>

**Thecla (fifth/sixth century)**

Wife of Serges and mother of Theodorus. Thecla, her husband, their son, Anastasia and her relatives financed forty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Petrus Taurino juravit et dedit'.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Petrus Tenca, filius Dominici Tenca de Ferrara, dedit et juravit'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Vitalis Tentoressi'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Bono Teodani'.

<sup>17</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 238, no. 22: 'In nomine / Domini, / Tertius uo/tum soluit'.

<sup>18</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 207, no. 8: 'Serges et Thecl/a et Théodorus / filius eorum / et Anastasia cum suis fe/erunt pe/des XXXXV'.

**Theodochions, Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>19</sup>

**Theodorus (fifth/sixth century)**

Son of Serges and Thecla. Theodorus, his parents, Anastasia and her relatives financed forty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>20</sup>

**Theodorus, Martinus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>21</sup>

**Theophilatus (ref 829)**

In his will Duke Iustinianus says that the basilica of St Mark had to be built with stones from the house of Theophilatus 'de Torcello'.<sup>22</sup>

**Thomas (571/579)**

*Notarius*. Son of Probina. Thomas and his mother state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus Theodochions juravit et dedit'.

<sup>20</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 207, no. 8: 'Serges et Thecl/a et Théodorus / filius eorum / et Anastasia cum suis fe/cerunt pe/des XXXXV'. S. Cosentino and T. S. Brown believe that Theodorus is Anastasia's husband. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 35. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 251. On the other hand, Caillet thinks that Anastasia is a widow.

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Martinus Theodorus'.

<sup>22</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 23: 'et de casa Theophilato de Torcello hedificetur basilicha beati Marci evangeliste'. Wladimiro Dorigo has hypothesized that Theophilatus might be the exarch of Ravenna (701–705). Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 240, no. 26: 'Probina c(um) / filio suo / Thomate / notario / uotum / soluent'.

### Θωμάς/Thomas? (sixth/eighth century)

στρατηλάτης (*stratelates*); *magister militum*. Thomas is mentioned in a bilingual seal of which only a copy is available. Nothing is known about the provenance of this object. It has been hypothesized that it is from Venice.<sup>24</sup>

### Tiberius (821)

*Presbiter*. In 821, Tiberius reported to Emperor Louis the Pious that the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, had incited the Slavic Duke Liudweit to revolt and had helped him construct some castles. Tiberius was probably from Grado because he is defined as *presbiter* of the Patriarch Fortunatus II.<sup>25</sup>

### Tiberius (825/826)

*Diaconus et vicedomnus*. In 825/826, Tiberius acted as the representative of the Patriarch of Grado, Venerius, to the court of Emperor Louis the Pious.<sup>26</sup>

### Tornaricus, Iohannes (820s)

In the 820s Iohannes took part in a plot against Dukes Agnellus and Iustinianus. The attempt to overthrow the dukes failed, and Iohannes was hanged.<sup>27</sup>

### Tornariacus, Joannes (ref 991/1008)

His widow is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. It is said that Joannes was 'de Gradensi urbe'.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Dorigo, 'Bolle plumbee bizantine nella Venezia esarca', p. 231: '† ΘΩΜΑ .TPATHΛΑΤΟΥ / † THOMAE M.GISTRO MIL (= † Θωμά (σ)στρατηλάτου / Thomae m(a) gistro mil[itum])'.

<sup>25</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 821, p. 155: 'Fortunatus patriarcha Gradensis, cum a quodam presbitero suo nomine Tiberio apud imperatorem fuisset accusatus, quod Liudewitum ad perseverandum in perfidia, qua coeperat, hortaretur eumque ad castella sua munienda artifices et murarios mittendo iuaret'.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 48, p. 82: 'Venerius, humillimus servorum Dei omnium, servus sanctae meropolitanæ sedis Gradensis civitatis episcopus ... Direximus autem apud sacra imperialia vestigia domni nostri Tiberium diacono et vicedomno nostro'.

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 35: 'Eo quoque tempore quidam Veneticorum conspirationem adversum duces facere conati sunt, ex quibus duo prope sancti Gregorii ecclesiam suspensi sunt, id est Iohannes Tornaricus et Bonus Bradanisso'. As this plot is mentioned after the death of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, it has been hypothesized that it occurred between 824 and 827. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 183.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Uxor Joannis Tornariaci de gradensi urbe, pro viro suo defuncto, iuravit et dedit'.

**Torundolus (Torundolo), Dominicus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>29</sup>

**Trazamundus (ref 829)**

Probably father of *tribunus* Basilius who witnessed the will of Duke Iustinianus.<sup>30</sup>

**Traculus (Traculo), Georgius (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolyus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>31</sup>

**Tribunus, Agnella (ninth century)**

Wife of Dominicus and mother of Duke Petrus Tribunus. She was either the niece or granddaughter of Duke Petrus (836–864).<sup>32</sup>

**Tribunus, Dominicus (ninth century)**

Father of Duke Petrus Tribunus and husband of Agnella, who was either the niece or the granddaughter of Duke Petrus (836–864).<sup>33</sup>

**Tribunus, Petrus (887–911)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Tribunus, Petrus (ref 930s)**

He was the father of the Bishop of Olivolo, Petrus Tribunus, who was elected shortly after Petrus Candianus II became duke (931).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Dominicus Torundolo dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>30</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: '† Basilius tri\*\*\*\*... id est ... Blasius [*sic*] tribunus cata Trazamundo'.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Georgius Traculo de Methamauco iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 35: 'Tunc omnes pariter eligerunt sibi Petrum, nobilem virum, filium Dominici Tribuni. Qui videlicet Petrus natus fuerat de Agnella neptia Petri superioris ducis, quem ad monasterium diximus interfectum'.

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 35: 'Tunc omnes pariter eligerunt sibi Petrum, nobilem virum, filium Dominici Tribuni. Qui videlicet Petrus natus fuerat de Agnella neptia Petri superioris ducis, quem ad monasterium diximus interfectum'.

<sup>34</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 45: 'His namque diebus quidam Olivolensis episcopus, Dominicus nomine, defunctus est; quem successit Petrus Petri Tribuni filius'.

**Tribunus, Petrus (930s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Tribunus, Petrus (983)**

He was one of the Venetians who left Venice with Stefanus Coloprinus and helped Emperor Otto II impose an embargo on Venice. Petrus and Dominicus Silvus had the task of stopping the flow of supplies to Venice through Mestre.<sup>35</sup>

**[...], Tribunus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>36</sup>

**Tribunus, Dominicus (900/1094)**

Father of Dominicus who is the only signatory of a copy of the charter (900) in which Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>37</sup> It is not known when this took place, but occurred before 1094 because the following copy of that document was made on that date.<sup>38</sup>

**Tribunus, Dominicus (900/1094)**

Son of Dominicus. He is the only signatory of a copy of the charter (900) in which Duke Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery of St Stephanus (Altino) exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>39</sup> It is not known when this took place, but occurred before 1094 because the following copy of that document was made on that date.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24–25: 'Quod audiens imperator, universis suo sceptrui adiacentibus edictum et inevitabile intulit preceptum ut nemo aliqua presumptione fultus deinceps quemlibet Veneticum in aliquam sui imperii partem permetteret exire, neque aliquis suorum in Venetiam auderet intrare. Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent. [25.] Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur ... Dominicus quidem Silvo cum Petro Tribuno Mistrinis partibus insisterent'.

<sup>36</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Tribunus [...]'.

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ista est exempla de illa alia vetere nec ampliavi nec minuj, set cum testes scripsi atque complevi. Ego Dominicus, filius Dominici (*cod.: don*) tribuni, manu mea subscripsi ...'.

<sup>38</sup> Lazzarini, 'Un privilegio del doge Pietro Tribuno', p. 149.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ista est exempla de illa alia vetere nec ampliavi nec minuj, set cum testes scripsi atque complevi. Ego Dominicus, filius Dominici (*cod.: don*) tribuni, manu mea subscripsi ...'.

<sup>40</sup> Lazzarini, 'Un privilegio del doge Pietro Tribuno', p. 149.

**Tritulus (834/835)**

He was one of the supporters of Tribune Carosus, who in 834/835 overthrew Duke Iohannes II and took possession of the ducal office. Shortly afterwards, Carosus was deposed and Tritulus was killed. He is defined as *Gradensis*.<sup>41</sup>

**Trodoius (Trodoio), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>42</sup>

**Trodogius (Trodogio), Iohannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>43</sup>

**Tronus (Trono), Dominicus (998)**

In May 998, he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>44</sup>

**Trusdalus, Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>45</sup>

**Turdolus (Turdolo), Dominicus (979/991)**

Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44: 'Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio retrusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt'.

<sup>42</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Trodoio consentientis'.

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 110: 'Iohannes Trodogio dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Trono ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... item Dominici Troni ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Signum manus ... Dominici Trusdali'.

<sup>46</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 110: 'Dominicus Turdolo de Methamauco dedit et iuravit'.

## U

**Ursianus/Ursinianus? (680)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Metamauco'.

**Ursiolus (Ursiolo), Petrus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>1</sup>

**Urseolus (Urseolo), Dominicus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>2</sup>

**Urseolus (Urseolo), Petrus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>3</sup>

**Ursoylus, Petrus (976–978)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Ursoylus, Felicia (970s)**

Wife of Duke Petrus Ursoylus (976–978). John the Deacon narrates that an angel told Felicia that she had conceived her son Petrus, the future duke of Venice, and that, after his birth, she lived in chastity with her husband.<sup>4</sup>

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>5</sup>

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Petrus Ursiolo'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Dominicus Urseolo'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Petrus Urseolo'.

<sup>4</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 14: 'Erat siquidem sibi coniux Felicia nomine et merito, unius nati tantummodo mater, qui patris equivocus nomine, non dissimilis extitit opere. Post cuius vero conceptionem, quam angelico inditio diva mater fertur cognovisse, maritalem torum viro sibi optemperante inviolatum vicissim Deo conservare deinceps devovere'.

<sup>5</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Dominicus Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>6</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>7</sup>

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>8</sup>

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Ursus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>9</sup>

**Ursoyolus (Ursoyolo), Dominicus (983)**

In 983, he witnessed the settlement between Duke Tribunus Menius and the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, concerning the belongings of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>10</sup>

**Ursiolus, Iohannes (992)**

In 992, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the German Empire, Iohannes acted as one of the legates of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>11</sup>

**Urseolus, Dominicus (February 998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in February 998.<sup>12</sup>

**Urseolus, Dominicus (May 998)**

In May 998 he took part in the *placitum* aimed at settling the dispute between Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>13</sup> He might be Dominicus Urseolus (February 998).

**Urseulus, Iohannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Iohannes Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>8</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>9</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Urso Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, p. 133: 'Ego Dominicus subscripsi ... Notitia testium, idest: ... Dominicus Ursoyolo'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 69, p. 137: 'Eo quod Petrus, dux Veneticorum, per suos nuntios Marinum dyaconum et Iohannem Ursiolum'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: 'Ego Dominicus Urseolus'.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 82, pp. 165 and 168: 'residentibus cum eis ... Dominico Urseolo ... Signum manus suprascriptorum ... Dominici ... qui interfuerunt'.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: 'Ego Iohannes Urseulus'.

### Ursoylus II, Petrus (991–1008)

*Dux.* See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

### Ursoyolus, Dominicus (second half of tenth century/ beginning of the eleventh century)

He was probably the son of Duke Petrus Ursoyolus, and the husband of Ymilda/Melda, daughter of Vitalis/Ugo Candianus. A charter dated to 1015, which reports that Inmilda, daughter of Inmilia, widow of Vitalis/Ugo Candianus, is the wife of Dominicus 'filius quondam Petroni duci de finibus Veneciarum', contains the first mentions of Dominicus.<sup>15</sup> He died before 1025 since on that date Melda, i. e. Ymilda, stated that she was the widow of Dominicus, son of 'Petro Ursoyolo duci'.<sup>16</sup> According to the chronicler John the Deacon, Duke Petrus Ursoylus had only one son, Petrus,<sup>17</sup> while Duke Petrus Ursoylus II had five sons, but none of them were named Dominicus.<sup>18</sup> The *Vita b. Petri Urseoli ducis Venetiarum et Dalmatiarum*, written by an anonymous monk of the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà, reports that Duke Petrus Ursoylus had two sons, Johannes and Petrus, and that he made them both co-rulers. The fact that this work assigns to Petrus Ursoylus the title of *dux Venetiarum et Dalmatiarum*, held only by his son Petrus Ursoylus II, indicates an initial confusion between the two Ursoyli.<sup>19</sup> John the Deacon states that Petrus Ursoylus II had his two sons, Iohannes and Otto, as co-rulers at different times. Otto was originally named Petrus, before assuming the name of his godfather, Emperor Otto III.

<sup>15</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 3, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 7, p. 38: 'Ymelda filia Vitalis qui nominatur Ugo, qui fuit filius domni Petro duci Candianus, relicta Dominico filio bone memorie domno Petro Ursoyolo duci'.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 14: 'Erat siquidem sibi coniux Felicia nomine et merito, unius nati tantumodo mater, qui patris equivocus nomine, non dissimilis extitit opere. Post cuius vero conceptionem, quam angelico inditio diva mater fertur cognovisse, maritalem torum viro sibi optemperante inviolatum vicissim Deo conservare deinceps devovere'.

<sup>18</sup> The names are: Iohannes, Ursus, Petrus (changed into Otto), Vitalis, and Henricus. *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 76–77.

<sup>19</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapters 1, 3, 9: 'vitam eximii Venetiarum, atque Dalmatiarum Ducis ... cum uxore et duobus filiis ... Petrus itaque eximius Dux Venetiarum atque Dalmatiarum, congregavit Principes, & omnes regni sui optimates, dans coram omnibus suis duobus filiis Principatum sui ducaminis adclamante omni populo, tamen ignorante, ut quid hoc ageretur, & colligavit omnes maiores ac minores Johanni & Petro clarissimis Ducibus sacramento fidei'.

This probably created further confusion to the author of *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*.<sup>20</sup> Some scholars believe that Dominicus was the son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II,<sup>21</sup> while Andrea Castagnetti, who has carefully analysed the Candianus and Ursoylus families, thinks that Dominicus was an illegitimate son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus. He bases his hypothesis on the fact that Petrus Ursoylus and Ymilda/Melda's father, Vitalis/Ugo Candianus belonged more or less to the same generation. It therefore seems unlikely that a woman could have married the grandson of a man of her father's generation.<sup>22</sup> This is not impossible, yet, as there are no other primary sources about this case, Andrea Castagnetti's supposition is more likely than that of the other historians'.

### **Ursoylus, Heinricus (beginning of the eleventh century)**

Fifth son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria.<sup>23</sup> His godfather was the King of Germany, Henry II. He was probably given the name Henry because of this.<sup>24</sup>

### **Ursoylus, Hicela (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Daughter of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. She was the eldest of Petrus Ursoylus II's four daughters. She married Stefanus, son of Surigna, King of the Slavs.<sup>25</sup>

### **Ursoylus, Iohannes (983?–1007?)**

First son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

### **Ursoylus, Maria (second half of tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Wife of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008). Maria had five sons, Iohannes, Ursus, Petrus-Otto, Vitalis, and Heinricus. She also had four daughters, of

<sup>20</sup> Gherardo Ortalli maintains that the most reliable source is the Venetian chronicle, and that Petrus Ursoylus only had one son. Ortalli, *Petrus I*, p. 13, n. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I, 384, n. 4. Pozza, 'Vitale-Ugo', genealogical table in the appendix. Ortalli, 'Il ducato', p. 180.

<sup>22</sup> Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 61–68.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Quintus estat vocabulo Heinricus, species cuius puerilis ceu iubar micat solis'.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 70: 'Cui Petrus etiam Veneticorum dux in predicta urbe suum natum mire pulchritudinis puerulum, prece sua permotus, honorifice delegavit, quem chrismatis divo liquore ex more fecit linire, patri obtime muneratum remisit'.

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Quattuor quoque filiae eidem opimo manebat patri; quarum primam, Hicelam nomine, Stephano Sclavorum regis filio, de quo antea predixi, in coniugio honorifice sociavit'.

whom only the name of the first, Hicela, is known.<sup>26</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Petrus Ursoylus II lived in chastity with Maria for the last years of his life.<sup>27</sup>

### Ursoylus, Maria († 1007?)

Daughter of Byzantine Patrician Argirus; she married Iohannes, the son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II<sup>28</sup> with whom she had a son, named Vassil-

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Preterea Petrus dux omnibus suis liberis paternum munus impertiri voluit, ita ut testamentario iure quisque suas acciperet porciones. Nomina quorum ut rite recorder exprimere libet. Illorum primus herile sortitus est nomen qui forma et viribus bene respondebat suis natalibus. Secundus nominatur Ursus; iste sic officium gerens clericatus quo haud inmerito queat dici clericorum decus. Tercius est ordine Otto, predictus puerulus, patris qui constat dignitate equivocus. Quartus nominatur Vitalis; hic ingenii strenuitate ecclesiasticam adeptus est sortem. Quintus estat vocabulo Heinricus, species cuius puerilis ceu iubar micat solis. Quattuor quoque filiae eidem opimo manebat patri; quarum primam, Hicelam nomine, Stephano Sclavorum regis filio, de quo antea predixi, in coniugio honorifice sociavit; reliquas vero tres in monasterio Deo omnipotenti mancipavit. His itaque bene compositis, Mariae generose suae uxoris thorum sequestratum habere deinceps decrevit, ea videlicet ratione, quo nullum divorcium foret in familiaritatis conversatione; deinde quicquid facultatis restabat, totum ecclesiis et pauperibus erogans, nichil sibi preter dignitatem reservabat.'

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Mariae generose suae uxoris thorum sequestratum habere deinceps decrevit, ea videlicet ratione, quo nullum divorcium foret in familiaritatis conversatione.'

<sup>28</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 71–72: 'Hoc quoque tempore Petrus famosus dux, sedula petitione a Vassylio et Constantino imperatoribus coactus, Iohannem ducem, suam dilectam prolem, ad regiam urbem causa coniugii delegavit. Quem imperatores dum benigne susceperent, cuiusdam nobilissimi patricii filiam Argiropoli nomine, imperiali editam stirpe, illi desponsare decreverunt et, ut tante femine, imperatorum videlicet neptis, copulationis dies acceleraret, prefatus dux una cum puella imperiali decreto in quadam capella convenire permissi sunt ibique ab eiusdem urbis pastore sacre benedictionis munus ab imperatoribus aureas diademas suis capitibus perceperunt. Quibus dextera utroque imperatore superposita manu, aulam qua convivantium cetus manere videbatur, tali decoritate pervenerunt. Predicti namque imperatores tam egregiae ac iocunde hunc peragere thalamum satagebant, ut triduo convivantium gaudiis haud defuerunt ipsi familiares convive. Hoc tali in palacio quod Yconomium nuncupatur peracto ordine, quisque eorum, muneribus receptis, retrogradus recessit. Novicius vero dux cum sua venusta sponsa aput palladium, quod iure dotalicii nuper adquisierat, degere disposuit. [72.] Cui Vassilius imperator iniungens monuit ne ab urbe discederet interim de Bulgarorum finibus, quos valida expugnando manu agredi temptabat, Dei auxilio reverteretur. Cuius monitis dux acquiescens, promte eius adventum prestolabatur. Ipso autem redeunte, patriciatus officii dignitate eundem sublimavit ducem; Ottonem suum puerulum, qui aderat, fratrem muneribus tantum honoravit. Dehinc dux sponsali dote, id est diverse fortune copiis, simulque imperialibus donis acceptis, licitum veniendi ad propria impetravit. Nam parentum conventus pernobilem puellam regionem ad exteram quasi exulem euntem plorantes haud deerant. Dux itaque pro

ius.<sup>29</sup> She and her husband died during an epidemic probably in 1007.<sup>30</sup>

**Ursoylus, Otto (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Third son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

**Ursoylus, Petrus (his name was later changed to Otto); see Ursoylus, Otto**

**Ursoylus, Vassilius (beginning of the eleventh century)**

Son of Iohannes Ursoylus, co-regent duke, and Maria, daughter of Patrician Argirus. He was named Vassilius after Byzantine Emperor Basilius II.<sup>31</sup> His parents died shortly after his birth due of an epidemic. It is unknown what then happened to Vassilius.

**Ursoylus, Vitalis (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)**

Fourth son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. He became an ecclesiastic.<sup>32</sup>

**Ursoylus, Ursus (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh)**

Second son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria; *clericus*.<sup>33</sup> Ursus became bishop of Altino in 1008, when he was still an adolescent.<sup>34</sup>

votis omnia consecutus, navim cum spectabili sponsa ascendens, equoreas sulcare procellas suis imperavit. Cui Grecorum seu aliarum gentium incole ubique usque ad patriam non denegabant impertiri obsequia.

<sup>29</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 73: 'Domna vero Maria greca ductrix non post plures dies puerum, Constantinopolim genitum, Venetiae protulit natum; quem Petrus eximius dux de sacro baptismatis lavacro suscipiens, Vassilium ob avunculi sui imperatoris nomen imposuit.'

<sup>30</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 75–76: 'Eodem itaque tempore stella cometis, cuius indicium humanum semper pronunciat flagicium, in meridiano climate apparens, quam maxima per omnes Italiae seu Veneciae fines pestilentia subsecuta est. In qua utriusque sexus humane conditionis nonnulli inopinata morte ceciderunt, inter quos domna Maria greca ductrix nec non Iohannes egregius vir suus, sedecim dierum numero in sancti Zacharie monasterio, pro dolor, uno clauduntur mausoleo. [76.] De quorum funere non modo mesti genitores vel fraterna societas deplorabant, verum omnis patria lacrimis et dolore tabescebat. Fuerunt namque omni probitate in tantum famosi ut Deo et hominibus ambo boni complacerent; sex annorum spacio tantum sub patris regimine Veneciae preluit populo.'

<sup>31</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 73: 'Domna vero Maria greca ductrix non post plures dies puerum, Constantinopolim genitum, Venetiae protulit natum; quem Petrus eximius dux de sacro baptismatis lavacro suscipiens, Vassilium ob avunculi sui imperatoris nomen imposuit.'

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 77: 'Quartus nominatur Vitalis; hic ingenii strenuitate ecclesiasticam adeptus est sortem.'

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 77: 'Secundus nominatur Ursus; iste sic officium gerens clericatus quo haud inmerito queat dici clericorum decus.'

<sup>34</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 78: 'Anno igitur incarnationis Ihesu Christi domini nostri

**Ursoylus, Dominicus (991/1008)**

In the document reporting the names of the people paying the tithe during the rule of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's, it is stated that Dominicus received some money.<sup>35</sup>

**Ursus (571/579)**

Probably the husband of Aureliana. Ursus and Aureliana state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>36</sup>

**Ursus (726–737)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Ursus (eighth century?)**

Ursus is mentioned in an inscription on fragment of a sarcophagus discovered at Ammiana and now lost.<sup>37</sup>

**Ursus (821?–853?; or 828?–860?)**

*Episcopus* of Olivolo. Brother of Romana. See the appendix 'Bishops of Olivolo'.

**Ursus II (864–881)**

*Dux*. See the appendix 'Rulers of Venice'.

**Ursus (881/887)**

Son of Duke Ursus II; co-ruler. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

**Ursus? (919?)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Civitas Nova-Heracliana'.

millesimo octavo Valerio Altinatis ecclesie presule mortuo, qui episcopii cathedram rexit annis viginti, quindecim diebus tantummodo minus, Ursus predictus domni Petri ducis filius, clero et populo consulente, in eadem subrogatus est sede. Huius adulentis mores meo famine perstringere volo. Erat nempe fide religiosus, specie decorus, ingenio providus, industria litterarum ita peritus ut tanti honoris a cunctis dignus diceretur'.

<sup>35</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'quinque mancusios recepit Badovarius Bragadinus et Dominicus Urseolo per ipsas duas pallias que mandavit ad ducem; alios duodecim mancusios recipit Dominicus Urseolo ... Joannes Fuschareno juravit et dedit libras XIII. et istas 13 libras recepit Baduarius Bragadenus et Dominicus Urseolo'.

<sup>36</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 233, no. 12: 'Ursus et / Aureliana / uotum / soluent'.

<sup>37</sup> G. Casoni, who drew this fragment, believed that this person was Duke Ursus. The drawing is in manuscript Cicogna, no. 3349 (3636), f. 11b (Library of Museum Correr, Venice): 'IN HVC TVMVLI CLAVSTRA REQVIE / VRSVM'. Its photo can be found in Dorigo, *Venezia. Origini: Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, p. 666, no. 435.

**Ursus II (940s–950s)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Olivolo’.

**[...], Ursus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>38</sup>

**Ursus (998)**

Son of Andreadus. Ursus is mentioned in the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998. In this document it is stated that he is ‘da Fine’.<sup>39</sup>

**Ursus (Urso), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II’s rule. In this document it is stated that he is ‘de Rivo Sanctorum Apostolorum’.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: ‘Ego Ursus [...]’.

<sup>39</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: ‘Ursus, filius Andreadi da Fine’.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: ‘Dominicus Urso de rivo Sanctorum Apostolorum juravit et dedit’.

## V

**Valentinianus (fifth/sixth century)**

Valentinianus and Amara financed twenty-five feet of the church of St Maria delle Grazie's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>1</sup>

**Valentinus (805/810)**

Co-ruler. Brother of Duke Obellierius and the co-ruler Beatus. See the appendix 'Co-rulers'.

**Valentinus (819)**

In 819, Valentinus witnessed the donation made by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servulus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>2</sup>

**Valeria (571/579)**

Likely the wife of Valerianus and the mother of Decentiana. Valeria, her husband and daughter state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>3</sup>

**Valeriana (571/579)**

Valeriana and Eugenia state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>4</sup>

**Valerianus (571/579)**

Valerianus, Vitales and their relatives finances thirty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 205, no. 4: 'Amara et / Valentinia/nus fecerunt pedes XXV'. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that Valentinianus is Amara's son. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, 1, 131. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2, 1, 100, states that Amara is a woman and that Valentinianus is Amara's husband.

<sup>2</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, 11: '† Valentinus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 251, no. 49: 'Valerianus / et Valeria fil(ia) / cum Decentiana / uot(um) solb(unt)'.

<sup>4</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 252, no. 50: '... Valeriana / cum Eugenia / uotum solbunt'.

<sup>5</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 237, no. 21: 'Vitales / et Valerianus / cum suis / f(ece)r(unt) p(edes) XXX[V?]'

**Valerianus (571/579)**

Probably the husband of Valeria and the father of Decentiana. Valerianus, his wife and daughter state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>6</sup>

**Valerius (988–1008)**

See the appendix ‘Bishops of Altino/Torcello’.

**Vanzus (Vanzo), Ursus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II’s rule.<sup>7</sup>

**Varnerius (Varnerio), Leo (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II’s rule.<sup>8</sup>

**Varsanus, Iohannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>9</sup>

**Varsilius, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>10</sup>

**Vasilius; see Basilius****Vassanus (Vassano), Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 251, no. 49: ‘Valerianus / et Valeria fil(ia) / cum Decentiana / uot(um) solb(unt)’.

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: ‘Urso Vanzo juravit et dedit’.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: ‘Leo Varnerio juravit et dedit’.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 162: ‘Ego Iohannes Varsanus’.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 163: ‘Ego Joannes Varsilius’.

<sup>11</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Ego Iohannes Vassano manu mea subscripsi’.

**Venerius (ref 824)**

*Diaconus* (probably of Grado). In the document in which the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, describes what he did during his rule, Fortunatus II narrates that he gave a *dalmatica* to Venerius.<sup>12</sup>

**Venerius (820s–840s)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Vestoris, Ioannes (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>13</sup>

**Victor (834/835)**

He was one of the supporters of Tribune Carosus, who in 834/835 overthrew Duke Iohannes II and took possession of the ducal office.<sup>14</sup>

**Victor (840s–850s)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Victor II (late 870s–890s)**

*Presbiter* of the basilica of St Silvestrus; patriarch. See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Victor, Leo (ref 979/991)**

Father of Victor who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius’s rule.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 78: ‘In sancta ecclesia majori dedi per sacerdotes inter castone et siricas planetas XVI, credo, et amplius, dalmaticas VIII: septem sunt, et de una fecit sibi diaconus Venerius tunicam, et de alia Mauricius, qui in perditione ambulavit, tunicas syricas octo de bono linteamine’.

<sup>13</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: ‘Signum manus Ioannis Vestoris’.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 44: ‘Interea quidam Veneticorum, id est Carosus tribunus et Victor nonnullique alii, facta conspiratione, Iohannem ducem, a Venecia pepulerunt et Carosus hanc usurpavit dignitatem’.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: ‘Victor, filius Leonis Victoris, de Methamauco, dedit et iuravit’.

**Victor (979/991)**

Son of Leo. Victor is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>16</sup>

**Victor, Joannes (ref 991/1008)**

He was the former owner of the *libertus* Petrus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>17</sup>

**Victorinus (571/579)**

*Lector*. Probably the father of Antoninus. Victorinus and his family state that they fulfilled their vow in St Eufemia (Grado).<sup>18</sup>

**Victurus (or Victurinus) (sixth century)**

He financed a part of the mosaic floor of the basilica of Equilo.<sup>19</sup>

**Vidosus, Joannes (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>20</sup>

**Vigilionus, Iohannes (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Victor, filius Leonis Victoris, de Methamauco, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Petrus, liberto Joanni Victori, iuravit et dedit'.

<sup>18</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 241, no. 29: 'Victorinus / lect(or) fil(io?) cum / Antonino et suis uo/tum soluit'.

<sup>19</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 108, no. 4: '[Vi]ctur[us or -inus?] / [d]e don[o or -um] / [De]i f(ecit) p(edes) XI [..?]'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Joannes Vidosus'.

<sup>21</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Iohannis Vigilioni consencientis'.

**Vigilionus (Vigilioni), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>22</sup>

**Vigilius (571/579)**

He and his relatives financed twenty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>23</sup>

**Vigilius (880)**

*Tribunus*. He witnessed the pact between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in 880. In this document it is said that Vigilius is 'de Geminis'.<sup>24</sup>

**Vigilius (883)**

In 883, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Western Empire and confirmation of imperial donations to the monastery of St Hilarius, Vigilius acted as one of the legates for the duke of Venice and the abbot of St Hilarius.<sup>25</sup>

**Vigilius, Nellus (971)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Ioannes Vigilioni dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>23</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 235, no. 17: 'Vigilius / cum suis / fecet / pedes / XXV'.

<sup>24</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, pp. 26–27: 'Testes fuerunt ... et Vigilius tribunus de Geminis'.

<sup>25</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 16, p. 22: 'quia Iohannes, Venetiarum dux, per legatos suos Laurentium, venerabilem episcopum, atque Vigilium seu Leonem, veneticos'. Ss. *Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 4, p. 28: 'qualiter domnus et venerabilis abbas Vitalis nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie in finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta flumine Une nobis suos eo modo misit legatos Laurentium, Venecie episcopum, atque Vigilium seu Leonem, veneticos'. It is believed that a part of this document was either forged or interpolated at a later date. Sopracasa, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto', pp. 132–36.

<sup>26</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Nelli Vigili'.

**Vyllarus, Iohannes (ninth century)**

Iohannes is mentioned in an inscription that was located on a sarcophagus. The inscription has been reconstructed by putting together two fragments currently preserved in the Museo Provinciale of Torcello and in the Galleria Franchetti of Ca' d'Oro (Venice).<sup>27</sup>

**Villionus, Petrus (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>28</sup>

**Vincentius, Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>29</sup>

**Vitabbius (Vitabbio), Dominicus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>30</sup>

**Vitalianus (757–766)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Vitalianus? (853)**

*Presbiter; archidiaconus.* In 853, Vitalianus witnessed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will. The document is not clear and the text is probably corrupt.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Polacco, 'Restauro e recupero alla Galleria Franchetti presso la Ca' d'Oro di Venezia', p. 140: 'IN HUC TUMULI CLAUSTRA REQUIE(SCUNT) IOH(ANNI) VYLLARI ME(MBRA)'. A photo of the two juxtaposed pieces can be found in Dorigo, *Venezia Romanica*, p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Petrus Villionus'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Dominicus Vincentius juravit et dedit'.

<sup>30</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Dominici Vitabbio consencientis'.

<sup>31</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Deusedi tribunus, presbiter Vitalianus archidiaconus rogatus ad domno Ursu episcopus manu mea subscripsi ... Notitia testium ... Deusedi tribunus..... \*\*\*\*\* tribunus cata Lupanicus..... \*\*\*\*\*'. On this, see also Pozza, 'Il testamento del vescovo Orso', p. 57.

**Vitalianus, Martinus (ref 971)**

Father of Martinus who is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>32</sup>

**Vitalianus, Martinus (971)**

Son of Martinus. Martinus is among the signatories of the prohibition of trade with the Muslims issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971.<sup>33</sup>

**Vitales (571/579)**

Vitales, Valerianus and their relatives financed thirty-five feet of St Eufemia's mosaic floor (Grado).<sup>34</sup>

**Vitalis (720s)**

See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'.

**Vitales (eighth/ninth century)**

Vitales is mentioned along with Petrus in an inscription on a sarcophagus.<sup>35</sup>

**Vitalis (850s–870s)**

See the appendix 'Patriarchs of Grado'.

**Vitalis? (883)**

*Abbas* of the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict. In 883, Emperor Charles the Fat confirmed the privileges of the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict to its abbot Vitalis.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Martini Martini Vitaliani'.

<sup>33</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Martini Martini Vitaliani'.

<sup>34</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 237, no. 21: 'Vitales / et Vale/rianus / cum suis / f(ece)r(unt) p(edes) XXX[V?]'.  
<sup>35</sup> Location: Murano, Museo vetrario. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 11: 'HIC REQUIESCE VITALES ET PETRUS'. The photo of the sarcophagus can be seen in Vecchi, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*, p. 101, no. 148.

<sup>36</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 4, p. 28: 'qualiter domnus et venerabilis abbas Vitalis nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie in finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta flumine Une nobis suos eo modo misit legatos Laurentium, Venecie episcopum, atque Vigilium seu Leonem, veneticos.' It is believed that a part of this document was either forged or interpolated at a later date. Sopracasa, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto', pp. 132–36.

**Vitalis (891)**

In 891, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Western Empire, Vitalis acted as one of the legates of Duke Petrus Tribunus.<sup>37</sup>

**Vitalis II (late 870s–890s)**

See the appendix ‘Patriarchs of Grado’.

**Vitalis (978/979)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Vitalis Candianus’s rule. In this document it is stated that Vitalis is ‘de Aybolas’.<sup>38</sup>

**Vitalis (ref 982)**

Father of Dominicus ‘de Castello’ who is among the signatories of St George monastery’s foundation (982).<sup>39</sup>

**Vitalis (982)**

*Presbiter et notarius*. In 982, Vitalis drew up the foundation of St George.<sup>40</sup> He was probably *presbiter et notarius* Vitalis who composed two documents in 983 and 991, respectively.

**Vitalis (983)**

*Presbiter et notarius*. In 983, he drew up the settlement between Duke Tribunus Menius and the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, concerning the belongings of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>41</sup>

**Vitalis (991)**

*Presbiter et notarius*. In 991, he drew up the sale of five saltworks to the monastery of St Michael Archangel.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 22, pp. 30–31: ‘quia Petrus, Venetiarum dux, per legatos suos Dominicum videlicet presbiterum et capellanum suum, Mauricium quoque atque Vitalem, veneticos ...’

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 58, p. 110: ‘Vitale de Aybolas juravit et dedit.’

<sup>39</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Signum manus Dominico, filii Vitali, de Castello consencientis.’

<sup>40</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: ‘Quam scribere iussimus Vitalem presbiterum et notarium nostro.’

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, p. 133: ‘Ego Vitalis, presbiter et notarius, complevi et roboravi.’

<sup>42</sup> *Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, no. 3, p. 24: ‘† Ego Vitalis presbiter et notarius complevi et roboravit.’

**Vitalis (991/1008)**

Vitalis is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Aybolas'.<sup>43</sup>

**Vitalis, Marinus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Leo who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>44</sup>

**Vitalis, Leo (991/1008)**

Son of Marinus Vitalis. Leo is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Castello'.<sup>45</sup>

**Vitales (before eleventh century)**

Husband of Paulina. Vitales and Paulina were mentioned in a fragment of an inscription which is no longer readable.<sup>46</sup>

**Vitriniacus, Petrus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>47</sup>

**Vitriniacus (Vitriniaco), Tribunus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>48</sup>

**Vitriniacus (Vitriniaco), Ursus<sup>1</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Vitalis de Aybolas juravit et dedit'.

<sup>44</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Leo, filius Marini Vitalis, de Castello juravit et dedit'.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 142: 'Leo, filius Marini Vitalis, de Castello juravit et dedit'.

<sup>46</sup> Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, I, no. 95, p. 147: 'REQUIICIT VITALES ET PAVLINA IVGALES EIVS †' The inscription was located in the church of St Domenico (Venice). After the demolition of the church, it was moved to the Seminario Patriarcale of Venice. Agazzi, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', pp. 570 and 575, n. 47.

<sup>47</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Vitriniacus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>48</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Tribuno Vitriniaco consentis'.

<sup>49</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Urso Vitriniaco manu mea subscripsi'.

**Vitriniacus (Vitriniaco), Ursus<sup>2</sup> (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>50</sup>

**Vivarinus, Martinus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursolus II's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Grado'.<sup>51</sup>

**Voltanus (Voltani), Petrus (ref 1001 or 1005)<sup>52</sup>**

In 1001 or 1005 he witnessed a donation to the Bishopric of Torcello.<sup>53</sup>

**Vuillelmus (1008)**

*Abbas* of the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict. In 1008, the German King Henry II renewed to Abbot Vuillelmus the privileges of his monastery.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Urso Vitriniaco manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>51</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 141: 'Martinus Vivarinus de Grado juravit et dedit'.

<sup>52</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according the year from the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>53</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 300: 'Notitia testium id est ... Petro Voltani'.

<sup>54</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 6, p. 32: 'Henricus superna ordinante providencia res ... domnus et venerabilis Vuillielmus nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Hilari et Benedicti de partibus Venetie in finibus Rivoaltensi iuxta fluvium Une'.

# W

## **Watizzus (Watizzo), Ursus (ref 991/1008)**

He was the brother of Watizus who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>1</sup>

## **Watizus (991/1008)**

Brother of Ursus. Watizus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Watizo, frater Ursi Watizzo, juravit et dedit'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Watizo, frater Ursi Watizzo, juravit et dedit'.

## Z

### **Zabiretus, Vitalis (998)**

He is among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>1</sup>

### **Çancanus (Çancani), Dominicus (ref 958)**

Father of Martinus to whom Duke Petrus Candianus III gave a saltwork in 958.<sup>2</sup>

### **Çancanus (Çancani), Martinus (958)**

Son of Dominicus. In 958 Duke Petrus Candianus III gave a saltwork to Martinus Çancanus.<sup>3</sup>

### **Zapalus; see Zopolus**

### **Zarattus (Zaratto), Marinus (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule.<sup>4</sup>

### **Zeno/Zenonus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982). In this document it is stated that he is 'de Castello'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Vitalis Zabiretus'.

<sup>2</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 40, p. 68: 'Ideo nos Petrus, deo auxiliante dux Veneticorum, filio [quondam] domino Petro duci, una pariter cum iteque duce filo meo cum successoribus nostris ab hodie damus, tradimus atque concedimus tibi Martino, filio Dominico Çancani, et abheredibus as proheredibus posterisque vestris pro futurum possidendi, hoc est una sallina, quas ellevastis in predicta pallude et terrenas palacii nostri'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 40, p. 68: 'Ideo nos Petrus, deo auxiliante dux Veneticorum, filio [quondam] domino Petro duci, una pariter cum iteque duce filo meo cum successoribus nostris ab hodie damus, tradimus atque concedimus tibi Martino, filio Dominico Çancani, et abheredibus as proheredibus posterisque vestris pro futurum possidendi, hoc est una sallina, quas ellevastis in predicta pallude et terrenas palacii nostri'.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Marino Zaratto dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>5</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Zenoni de Castello consencientis'.

**Zenus (Zeno), Stephanus (982)**

He is among the signatories of St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>6</sup>

**Zeno/Zenonus (Zenoni), Io[hannes] (983)**

In 983, he witnessed the settlement between Duke Tribunus Menius and the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, concerning the belongings of Duke Petrus Candianus IV. In this document it is stated that he is 'de insula Methamauco'.<sup>7</sup>

**Zeno (Zenonis), Ioannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Methamauco'.<sup>8</sup>

**Zenus (998)**

Father of Zenus. Zenus and his son are among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998. In this document it is stated that Zenus is 'de Castello'.<sup>9</sup>

**Zenus (Zeno) (998)**

Son of Zenus 'de Castello'. Zenus and his father are among the signatories of the prohibition against provoking riots at the ducal palace issued by Duke Petrus Ursoylus II in 998.<sup>10</sup>

**Zenus (Zeno), Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Joannes who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Signum manus Stephano Zeno consencientis'.

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, p. 133: 'Ego Joannes testis ... Notitia testium, idest: ... Io. Zenoni de insula Methamauco'.

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 110: 'Ioannes Zenonis de Methamauco dedit et juravit'.

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Zenus de Castello' / Zeno, filius eius'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, p. 164: 'Zenus de Castello' / Zeno, filius eius'.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Zeno, filius Dominici Zeno, juravit de omni havere patris sui et dedit decimum'.

**Zenus (Zeno), Joannes (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus. Joannes is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>12</sup>

**Zimarcus (end of the sixth century)**

*Primicerius numeri Tarbisiani*. He states that he fulfilled his vow in the church of St Maria delle Grazie.<sup>13</sup>

**Zapulus (Zapulo), Dominicus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>14</sup>

**Zopulus (Zopulo), Stephanus (960)**

He is among the signatories of the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>15</sup>

**Zopulus (Zopulo), Dominicus (991/1008)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>16</sup>

**Zorchus; see Sochin Zorchus****Zornolus, Dominicus (ref 991/1008)**

Father of Bonfilius who is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Joannes Zeno, filius Dominici Zeno, juravit de omni havere patris sui et dedit decimum'.

<sup>13</sup> Inscription. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, p. 209, no. 11: 'Zimarcus / primicerius / nomiri (=numeri) Tar/bisiani uo/tum solbit'.

<sup>14</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Dominicus Zapulo'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: 'Ego Stephanus Zopulo'.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 140: 'Dominicus Zopulo juravit cum suo decimo se [datum], quia suus avus, pater patris sui, dedisset decimo'.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Bonfilius Dominici Zornoli juravit et dedit'.

**Zornolus, Bonfilius (991/1008)**

Son of Dominicus. He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>18</sup>

**Zuchus (Zucho), Iohannes (979/991)**

He is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule. In this document it is stated that he is 'de Torcello'.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Bonfilius Dominici Zornoli juravit et dedit'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 112: 'Iohannes Zucho de Torcello dedit et juravit'.

## Appendices



## APPENDIX 1: FIRST NAMES

### *1a. Lay Males*

#### A

Adalbertus; *libertus* (979/991)

Adamus; son of Carus (991/1008)

Agnellus Clentusius (819)

Agnellus; *dux* (810/811–828)

Agnellus; son of *Dux* Iustinianus († early 820s)

Albertus Baius (991/1008)

Albertus Grossonus; father of Ciprianus (ref 991/1008)

Albinus (960)

Albinus (971)

Albinus (982)

Amara (sixth century)

Amara; *lector*; father of Haelia (571/579)

Ἀναστάσιος (= Anastasius); πατρικίος (= *patricius*) (seventh century)

Andreadus; father of Ursus (ref 998)

Andrea Cigullus; son of Iohannacenus (ref 829)

Andreas Contarenus (853)

Andreas; *tribunus* (887)

Andrea Sesennulus (982)

Andreas Barovilla (979/991)

Andreas Andreadus; son of Petrus (998)

Andreas Sesennulus (998)

Andreas; son of a Beneventan presbiter (991/1008)

Andreas da Canale (991/1008)

Antoninus; probably son of Victorinus (571/579)

Antoninus; *tribunus* (sixth/seventh century)

Armatus; *tribunus* (880)

Audoenus (974)

Aureganus Longus (991/1008)

Aurius (960)

Aurius (982)

Aurius (998)

Aurius Franchus (991/1008)

Aurius Mauresculus (991/1008)

Azilus de Rivo; father of Petrus (ref 991/1008)

## B

Badoarius (ref 824)

Badovarius; son of *Dux* Ursus II (880s)

Badovarius; son of Iohanna Badovarius (953)

Badovarius 'da Spinale' (982)

Badovarius; son of Iohannes Badovarius (982)

Badovarius Bragadinus (982)

Badoarius Nohel (983)

Baduarius 'de Spinale' (998)

Baduarius Nohel (998)

Badovarius Bragadinus (991/1000)

Badovarius Bragadinus (991/1008)

Barba de Succogullo (978/979)

Barbalata (eighth century)

Barbola (unknown date)

Baruzzus; *libertus* (979/991)

Basilus cata Trazamundo; *tribunus*; probably son of Trazamundus (829)

Basilus; *tribunus* (834/835).

Vassilius Ursoylus; son of Iohannes Ursoylus (early eleventh century)

Bassadellus Superantius; son of Joannes (991/1008)

Beatus (805–810)

Benigellus Pitulus (ref † 1011/1012)

Benogonus; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)

Beteganus (eighth century)

Bezzus Monetarius (998)

Bondandinus; father of Petrus (ref 971)

Bonellus (second half of the sixth century)

Bonfilius Zornolus; son of Dominicus (991/1008)

Boniçus; *tribunus*; father of Carosus (ref 829)

Bonprandus (991/1008)

Bonus Clentusius (819)

Bonus Bradanissus († 820s)

Bonus (827/828)

Bonus Deusdatus (960)

Bonus Sgaudarius (960)

Bonus Teodanus (971)

Bonus Caligarius (ref † 978)

Bonus Reginus (982)

Bonus Baronilla (979/991)

Bonus Marinescus (991/1008)

## C

Carosus; *tribunus*; *Dux*; son of Boniçus (829, 834/835)

Carosus; father of Petrus (ref 978/979)

Carus; father of Adamus (991/1008)

Celsus (979/991)

Cyprianus; son of Marinus Cyprianus (982)

Ciprianus Bolzanus (February 998)

Cyprianus Bulzanus (May 998)

Ciprianus Bumbranus (998)

Ciprianus Grossonus; son of Albertus (991/1008)

Concordius (571/579)

Constantinus Dodonus (982)

Constantinus (1001 or 1005)

Constantius; *tribunus* (768/772)

Constantius; *libertus* (979/991)

## D

Dandolus (979/991)

Dandolus Lauredanus (979/991)

Dedus/Deusdetus Sgiros; *tribunus*; father of Tribune Fuscarius (ref 853)

Deusdedi; *magister militum*; *dux*; son of Duke Ursus (739–740, 742–755)

Deusdedus Grurus (834/835)

Deusdedi cata Lupanicus; *tribunus*; probably son of Lupanicus (853)

Deusdedit (856)

Deusdetus; see Dedus

Dimitrius (beginning of the ninth century)

Dimittrius; *tribunus* (819)

Dimitrius; *magister*; probably father of Dominicus and Petrus (ref 982)

Domnicus; *caligarius* (571/579)

Dominicus<sup>1</sup>; *notarius* (571/579)

Dominicus<sup>2</sup>; *notarius* (571/579)

Dominicus Monegarius; *dux* (756–764)

Dominicus († eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)

Dominicus; nephew of the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II (ref 825/826)

Dominicus; *tribunus* (ref 829)

Dominicus cata Marcianico; son of Iohannes cata Marcianicus (ref 829)

Dominicus Cigullus; nephew or grandson of Andrea (ref 829)

Dominicus Monatarius (834/835)

Dominicus cata Mastalicus; *tribunus*; probably son of Mastalicus (853)

Dominicus Faletrus; son of Faletrus (864)

Dominicus Masso (or Massonis) (864)

Domenicus (ninth century)

Dominicus (ninth century)

Dominicus Tribunus; father of Duke Petrus Tribunus (ninth century)

Dominicus (932)

Dominicus Çancanus; father of Martinus (ref 958)

Dominicus Bragadinus (960)

Dominicus Calpinomus (960)

Dominicus Carimanus (960)  
 Dominicus Casiolus (960)  
 Dominicus Flabianus (960)  
 Dominicus Godicus (960)  
 Dominicus Gradonicus (960)  
 Dominicus Maurocenus (960)  
 Dominicus Petrolongus (960)  
 Dominicus Taralessus (Taralessio) (960)  
 Dominicus Taralessus (960)  
 Dominicus Trusdalus (960)  
 Dominicus Zapulus (960)  
 Dominicus (967)  
 Dominicus Barbadicus (971)  
 Dominicus Barbanus (971)  
 Dominicus de Succucullo (971)  
 Dominicus Feolus (971)  
 Dominicus Florentius (971)  
 Dominicus Fuschellus (971)  
 Dominicus Iohannacenus (971)  
 Dominicus Iubianus (971)  
 Dominicus Iustus (971)  
 Dominicus Malianus in cucho (971)  
 Dominicus Marignonus (971)  
 Dominicus Marneschus (971)  
 Dominicus Maurecenus (971)  
 Dominicus Natalis (971)  
 Dominicus Navigaiosus (971)  
 Dominicus Occonicus (971)  
 Dominicus Paulus; father of Ioannes Paulus (ref 971)  
 Dominicus Paulus (probably the father of Ioannes Paulus) (971)  
 Dominicus Rossus (971)  
 Dominicus Stornatus (971)  
 Dominicus Sturladus (971)  
 Dominicus Urseolus (971)  
 Dominicus Carimanus; father of Dominicus Carimanus (ref 976)  
 Dominicus Carimanus; son of Dominicus Carimanus (976)  
 Dominicus Bradan; son of Georgius (978/979)  
 Dominicus de Carraria (978/979)  
 Dominicus (or Iohannes) Gradonicus; father of Dominicus (978/979)

Dominicus Marinus (978/979)  
Dominicus Benedictus Memmus; son of Vitalis (978/979)  
Dominicus Maurocenus († c. 982)  
Dominicus; son of Vitalis 'de Castello' (982)  
Dominicus; son of *magister* Dimitrius (982)  
Dominicus Barbanus (982)  
Dominicus Bonus Marifelix (982)  
Dominicus Bonoaldus 'de Metamauco' (982)  
Dominicus Bonoaldus; son of Stefanus Bonoaldus (982)  
Dominicus Brachius Curtulus (982)  
Dominicus Bradan (982)  
Dominicus Centranicus (982)  
Dominicus da Novale (982)  
Dominicus de Sucugullo (982)  
Dominicus Fiolarius (982)  
Dominicus Florencius (982)  
Dominicus Fundonus (982)  
Dominicus Hellarus (982)  
Dominicus Longus; son of Georgius (982)  
Dominicus<sup>1</sup> Magnus (982)  
Dominicus<sup>2</sup> Magnus (982)  
Dominicus Marcellus (982)  
Dominicus Matrus (982)  
Dominicus Matadurus (982)  
Dominicus Maurocenus; brother of Iohannes (ref 982)  
Dominicus<sup>1</sup> Maurocenus (982)  
Dominicus<sup>2</sup> Maurecenus (982)  
Dominicus Maurus (982)  
Dominicus Maurus (982)  
Dominicus Ruibulus (982)  
Dominicus Sylvus (982)  
Dominicus Stornatus (982)  
Dominicus Talaricus (982)  
Dominicus Ursoyolus (982)  
Dominicus Vitabbius (982)  
Dominicus Argilus (983)  
Dominicus Ursoyolus (983)  
Dominicus Coloprinus; son of Stefanus († c. 983)  
Dominicus Silvus (c. 983)

Dominicus; son of Stavilus (979/991)  
 Dominicus; *libertus* of Petrus Campolus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Albolus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Barbadicus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Bentanellus; father of Dominicus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Bentanellus; father of Leo (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Bentanellus; son of Dominicus Bentanellus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Bonoaldus; father of Dominicus Bonoaldus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Bonoaldus; son of Dominicus Bonoaldus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Clianus; father of Leomanus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Domnolinus; father of Petrus and Paulus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Dulcis (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Florentius (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Gaianicus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Gambasyrica; son of Georgius (979/991)  
 Dominicus Gratosius; son of Petrus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Greccus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Madrus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Marzanus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Moysis (979/991)  
 Dominicus Nimicanus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Paschales (979/991)  
 Dominicus Sayrninus (ref 979/991)  
 Dominicus Saponarius; son of Leo (979/991)  
 Dominicus Torundolus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Turdolus (979/991)  
 Dominicus Coloprinus (991)  
 Dominicus (995)  
 Dominicus Candianus (996)  
 Dominicus Mastalicus (996)  
 Dominicus Aurius (998)  
 Dominicus Baldolus (998)  
 Dominicus Calbanus (998)  
 Dominicus Calbus (998)  
 Dominicus Cambolus (998)  
 Dominicus Candianus; son of Vitalis Candianus (998)  
 Dominicus Carimannus (998)  
 Dominicus Cerbanus (998)  
 Dominicus da Molino (998)

Dominicus de Molino (998)  
 Dominicus de Auro (998)  
 Dominicus Eliadus (998)  
 Dominicus Entius (998)  
 Dominicus Flabianus (998)  
 Dominicus Laurentius Flavianicus (998)  
 Dominicus Grandus (998)  
 Dominicus Magnus (998)  
 Dominicus Martinus (998)  
 Dominicus Mattadorus (February 998)  
 Dominicus Matadorus (May 998)  
 Dominicus Maurocenus (February 998)  
 Dominicus Maurocenus (May 998)  
 Dominicus Maurus (February 998)  
 Dominicus Maurus (May 998)  
 Dominicus Mazzamanus (998)  
 Dominicus Piscator (998)  
 Dominicus Sapinus (998)  
 Dominicus Saponarius (998)  
 Dominicus Sodimpoggia (998)  
 Dominicus Tronus (998)  
 Dominicus Urseolus (February 998)  
 Dominicus Urseolus (May 998)  
 Dominicus Huillarenus (Huillareni) (1001 or 1005)  
 Dominicus Candianus (second half of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century); son of Duke Vitalis Candianus  
 Dominicus Gradonicus; son of Dominicus (or Iohannes) (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)  
 Dominicus Ursoyolus; probably son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus (second half of tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)  
 Dominicus 'de Rivo Marinus' (991/1008)  
 Dominicus; son of Benogonus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus; son of Martinicus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Aureolus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Bennis; son of Stephanus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Businiacus; son of *presbiter* Felix (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Cavallus; father of Iustus (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus da Canale; father of Joannes (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus da Canal (991/1008)

Dominicus de Canali (991/1008)  
 Dominicus da Mollino; son of Martinus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus da Mollino; brother of Martinus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Darius; father of Marinus and Joannes (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus de Arbore (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Flamolanus; son of Stephanus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Fuschus; son of Joannes (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Georgius (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Gombarus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Jo[annes] Paulus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Jubianus Sadarzanus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Longus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Marinus; father of Donatus (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus Marzagnulus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Pentanus; son of Joannes (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Tanconessus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Theodochions (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Ursoylus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Ursus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Vincentius (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Zenus; father of Iohannes (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus Zopulus (991/1008)  
 Dominicus Zornolus; father of Bonfilius (ref 991/1008)  
 Dominicus (unknown date)  
 Dominicus Tribunus; father of Dominicus (900/1094)  
 Dominicus Tribunus; son of Dominicus (900/1094)

Domnus? (ref 571/579); father of Laurentius, *miles de numero Tarvisiano*.

Donatus cato Barbalata; *tribunus*; father of Grauso and probably son of Barbalata (ref 829)  
 Donatus (ninth century)  
 Donatus Marinus; son of Dominicus (991/1008)

Dulciolus Pascalicus; *tribunus* (829)

## E

Emmus; *libertus* (979/991)

Etillarius (971)

Euphimius or Eutimius (sixth century)

## F

Faletrus; father of Dominicus (ref 864)

Felex (fifth/sixth century)

Felix Cornicula; *magister militum* (738–739)

Felix; *tribunus* (beginning of the ninth century)

Felix da Molino (958)

Felix (982)

Felix Franchanicus; son of Felix (ref 979/991)

Felix Scavianicus; son of Milianus (979/991)

Firminus; *cubicularius* or *cartularius* (571/579)

Flabianus Mosessus; father of Flabianus Mosessus (ref 991/1008)

Flabianus Mosessus; son of Flabianus Mosessus (991/1008)

Frincius (960)

Fuscarus Gregorius (beginning of the ninth century)

Fuscarus Sgiros; *tribunus*; son of Dedus/Deusdetus (853)

Fuscharus Bonaldus (960)

Fuscharus Nimichanus (978)

Fuscarus Nimicanus (ref 982)

Fuscharus Nimicanus; son of Martinus (991/1008)

**G**

Galla; *dux* (755–756)

Gatulus; father of Steffana and Maria (ref 829)

Gazeus (571/579)

Georgius (sixth century)

Gieorgius Catunus (819)

Georgius de Saccogullo (960)

Georgius Bradan; father of Dominicus (ref 978/979)

Georgius Longus (982)

Georgius Gambasyrica; father of Dominicus (979/991)

Georgius Traculus (991/1008)

Grauso cato Barbalata; *tribunus*; son of Donatus and probably grandson of Barbalata (ref 829)

Gregorius Franchanicus (979/991)

Gregorius Monetarius (991/1008)

Guderit (571/579)

Gulla Pellosus (ref 991/1008)

## H

Heinricus Urseolus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (beginning of the eleventh century)

Haelia; son of Amara (571/579)

Helias; *libertus* (991/1008)

Hentius; son of Iohannes Hentius (982)

Hyeremias; *libertus* (979/991)

Honestus (979/991)

Honoratus (fifth/sixth century)

Honoratus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)

Honoratus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)

## I

Iannis Ciprianus (ref 979/991)

Jannes; *libertus* (991/1008)

Iohanacenus Cigullus; father of Andrea (ref 829)

Ioannacenus Heliadus (960)

Ioannacenus Partegadus (971)

Iohannaci; *tribunus* (819)

Iohanaci; *tribunus*; son of *tribunus* Dominicus (829)

Ioannacius Baius (971)

Iohannes (fifth/sixth century)

Iohannes; *famulus* of St Eufemia (Grado) (571/579)

Iohannis; *lector* (571/579)

Iohannis; *miles de numero Cadisiano* (571/579)

Iohannis; *miles de equitum Persoiustinianorum* (571/579)

Ἰωάννης (= Iohannis) (571/579)

Iohannes<sup>1</sup> (sixth century)

- Iohannes<sup>2</sup> (sixth century)  
 Iohannes (fifth/sixth century)  
 Iohannes; *vir spectabilis* (second half of sixth century)  
 Iohannis (end of the sixth century)  
 Iohannes (683/685)  
 Iohannes Fabriacus; *magister militum* (741–742)  
 Iohannes; co-ruler; *dux* (797–805)  
 Iohannes (early ninth century)  
 Iohannes; *magister militum* (ref 824)  
 Iohannes Monetarius (820s)  
 Iohannes Tornaricus (820s)  
 Iohannes cata Marcianico; *tribunus*; probably son of Marcianicus and father of  
     Dominicus (ref 829)  
 Iohannes Primollus; son of Marconus and brother of Laurencius (ref 829)  
 Iohannes; *tribunus* (834/835)  
 Iohannes Marturius; *tribunus* (834/835)  
 Iohannes II / Iohanaci; *Dux*; son of Duke Agnellus and brother of Duke  
 Iustinianus (829–833/834, 835–836)  
 Iohannes cata Magistracus; *tribunus*; probably son of Magistracus (853)  
 Iohannes; co-ruler; son of *Dux* Petrus (late 830s–early 860s, † 863)  
 Iohannes Gradonicus (864)  
 Iohannes Labresella (864)  
 Ioannes Granzarolus (880)  
 Joannes/Ioanninus de Mastalico (880)  
 Iohannes III; co-ruler; *dux*; son of Duke Ursus II (881–887)  
 Iohannes Masserdalus (seventh century/ninth century)  
 Iohannis (ninth century)  
 Iohannes Vyllarus (ninth century)  
 Johannes Gradonicus (900)  
 Iohannes Fabianicus (927)  
 Iohannes Badovarius; son of Iohanna Badovarius (953)  
 Iohannes Barbanus (953)  
 Iohannes Albanus (960)  
 Ioannes Antolinus (960)  
 Iohannes Bassanus (960)  
 Ioannes Calbus (960)  
 Ioannes Contarenus (960)  
 Ioannes de Dulcio (960)  
 Ioannes de Dulcio (960)

Ioannes de Mollino (960)  
Ioannes Flabianus (960)  
Iohannes Gradonicus (960)  
Ioannes Longus (960)  
Ioannes Longus (960)  
Iohannes Maurocenus (960)  
Joannes Scutarius (960)  
Iohannes Guntarinus (967)  
Ioannes [...] (971)  
Ioannes [...] (971)  
Ioannes 'de S. Paulo' (971)  
Ioannes Andreadus (971)  
Io[annes] Caisolus (971)  
Iohannes Cavallus (971)  
Ioannes da Figario (971)  
Ioannes de Mollino (971)  
Ioannes Faletrus (971)  
Ioannes Fumaria (971)  
Ioannes Luparenus; father of Luparius (ref 971)  
Ioannes Maranus; father of Ioannes Maranus (ref 971)  
Ioannes Maranus; son of Ioannes Maranus (971)  
Ioannes Marinus (971)  
Ioannes Martinus; father of Martinus (ref 971)  
Ioannes Maurus (971)  
Ioannes Occonicus (971)  
Ioannes Paulus; son of Dominicus (971)  
Ioannes Pepus; father of Vitus (ref 971)  
Ioannes Plaseghus (971)  
Ioannes Spessus (971)  
Ioannes Tarvisanus (971)  
Ioannes Vestoris (971)  
Iohannes Gradonicus (976)  
Iohannes Gradonicus (978)  
Iohannes Maurecenus (978)  
Iohannes 'de S. Luca de Methamauco' (978/979)  
Iohannes Belignus (978/979)  
Ioannes Constantinus (978/979)  
Ioannes Galliardus (978/979)

Iohannes (or Dominicus) Gradonicus; father of Dominicus and Trionessa  
 (978/979 or a few years before this period)  
 Ioannes Longobardus; *libertus* (978/979)  
 Iohannes Serzem (978/979)  
 Iohannes Adoaldus (982)  
 Iohannes Albinus (982)  
 Iohannes Argisus (982)  
 Iohannes Armatus (982)  
 Iohannes Aurius (982)  
 Iohannes Autecarius (982)  
 Iohannes Badovarius; father of Badovarius (ref 982)  
 Iohannes Barbolanus (982)  
 Iohannes Bembus (982)  
 Iohannes Bonoaldus (982)  
 Iohannes Bonoaldus (982)  
 Iohannes Caraciacanapis (982)  
 Iohannes Centrinicus (982)  
 Iohannes Cerbanus (982)  
 Iohannes de Barina (982)  
 Iohannes de Sucugullo (982)  
 Iohannes<sup>1</sup> Flabianus (982)  
 Iohannes<sup>2</sup> Flabianus (982)  
 Iohannes<sup>1</sup> Fundonus (982)  
 Iohannes<sup>2</sup> Fundonus (982)  
 Iohannes Hentius; father of Hentius (ref 982)  
 Iohannes Mastalicus (982)  
 Iohannes Maurecenus (982)  
 Iohannes Siranus (982)  
 Iohannes Storlatus (982)  
 Iohannes Sturlatus; father of Leo (ref 982)  
 Iohannes Tanolicus (982)  
 Iohannes Trodoiis (982)  
 Iohannes Ursoyolus<sup>1</sup> (982)  
 Iohannes Ursoyolus<sup>2</sup> (982)  
 Iohannes Vasilius (982)  
 Iohannes Vassanus (982)  
 Iohannes Vigilionus (982)  
 Iohannes Bennatus/Nugigerulus (983)

Iohannes Zeno/Zenonus (983)  
 Iohannes Bassannus (991)  
 Iohannes Dulfinus (991)  
 Iohannes Gretolus (991)  
 Iohannes; *libertus* (979/991)  
 Ioannes; son of Ioannes 'texerio de Ravenna' (979/991)  
 Ioannes; son of Petrus (979/991)  
 Ioannes Barbanus (979/991)  
 Iohannes Calbonus (979/991)  
 Iohannes de Canali (ref 979/991)  
 Ioannes 'de Barinos' (979/991)  
 Ioannes Gambarus (979/991)  
 Ioannes Grecculus (979/991)  
 Io[hannes] Greccus (ref 979/991)  
 Ioannes Langobardus; *libertus* of the *presbiter* Petrus (979/991)  
 Iohannes Lomgobardus; *libertus* of Iannes Ciprianus (979/991)  
 Ioannes Marinus; father of Marcus (ref 979/991)  
 Ioannes Martinus (979/991)  
 Ioannes Ninnus (979/991)  
 Iohannes Sagorninus (ref 979/991)  
 Iohannes Trodogius (979/991)  
 Ioannes Vigilionus (979/991)  
 Ioannes Zeno/Zenonis (979/991)  
 Iohannes Zuchus (979/991)  
 Iohannes Ursiolus (992)  
 Joannes (996)  
 Iohannes Barbalongus; son of Marconus (997)  
 Joannes (May 998)  
 Joannes (July 998)  
 Joannes Armadus (February 998)  
 Joannes Armatus (May 998)  
 Joannes Badus (998)  
 Joannes Barbulanus (998)  
 Joannes Baruccius (998)  
 Joannes<sup>1</sup> Bonaldus (998)  
 Joannes<sup>2</sup> Bonaldus (998)  
 Joannes Centranicus (998)  
 Joannes Cyrinus (998)

Joannes Coloprinus (998)  
 Joannis Contarenus (998)  
 Joannes Daneus (February 998)  
 Joannes Daneus; *medicus* (July 998)  
 Joannes de Argele (998)  
 Joannes<sup>1</sup> Delphinus (998)  
 Joannes<sup>2</sup> Delphinus (998)  
 Joannes Grassus (998)  
 Joannes Martinatius (998)  
 Iohannes Maurocenus (February 998)  
 Iohannes Maurocenus (May 998)  
 Joannes Michael (998)  
 Joannes Molinus (998)  
 Joannes Papacasius (998)  
 Ioannes Paradisus (998)  
 Joannes Ractanasius (998)  
 Joannes Sadulus (998)  
 Joannes Sgaudarius (998)  
 Iohannes Sparessus (998)  
 Joannes Sparessus (998)  
 Iohannes Urseulus (998)  
 Iohannes Varsanus (998)  
 Joannes Varsilius (998)  
 Joannes Vidosus (998)  
 Iohannes Stornadus (1001 or 1005)  
 Iohannes Ursoylus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II; co-ruler (1001–c. 1007)  
 Joannes; cousin of Petrus Donatus and Ioannes Donatus (991/1008)  
 Iohannes; son of *presbiter* Justus (991/1008)  
 Joannes; *navalarius lombardus* (991/1008)  
 Joannes Adoaldus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Beaqua (991/1008)  
 Joannes Boldus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Cemballarius (991/1008)  
 Joannes da Canale; father of Andreas (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes da Canale; son of Dominicus (991/1008)  
 Joannes de Canali; father of Joannes (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes de Canali; son of Joannes (991/1008)  
 Joannes de la Canale (991/1008)

- Joannes Darius (991/1008)  
 Joannes de Drelo (991/1008)  
 Joannes Dolfinus (991/1008)  
 Ioannes Donatus; brother of Petrus Donatus and cousin of Joannes (991/1008)  
 Joannes Faletus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Florentius; father of Joannes (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Florentius; son of Joannes (991/1008)  
 Joannes Flosmarius (991/1008)  
 Joannes Fuscharenus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Fuscharus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Fuschus; father of Joannes and Dominicus (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Fuschus; son of Joannes and brother of Dominicus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Gayranus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Greculus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Marinus Crassus; son of Marinus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Martinus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Mingolus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Minius (991/1008)  
 Joannes Pentanus; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Satullus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Secretus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Spetamirus (991/1008)  
 Joannes Superantius; father of Bassadellus (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Tornariacus (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Victor (ref 991/1008)  
 Joannes Zenus; son of Dominicus (991/1008)
- Ioanninus; see Joannes/Ioanninus de Mastalico (880)
- Irenianus (571/579)
- Iubianus; *magister militum*; *ipatus* (740–741)  
 Lubianus (= Iubianus) Aulibadus; ‘primatus de Lubrio’ (880)
- Julianus Fuschellus; son of Petrus (991/1008)
- Iustinianus; co-ruler; *dux*; son of *Dux* Agnellus (827/828–829)  
 Iustinianus (971)

Iustinus; *notarius* (571/579)

Iustinus (ref 571/586)

Iustus Marignonus (971)

Justus Stenoboncius (998)

Justus Cavallus (991/1008)

## L

Laurentius; *miles*; son of Domnius (571/579)  
 Laurentius; *vir clarissimus palatinus* (571/579)  
 Laurentius; *vir spectabilis* (second half of sixth century)  
 Laurencius Primollus; son of Marconus and brother of Iohannes (ref 829)  
 Laurentius [...] (960)  
 Laurentius Calpinus (960)  
 Laurencius Magiscolus (971)  
 Laurencius Sturladus (971)  
 Laurentius Ameganus (979/991)  
 Laurentius; son of a Beneventan *presbiter* (991/1008)  
 Laurentius Magister Petrus (991/1008)

Lautus; *actotarius sanctae ecclesiae Aquileiensis* (571/579)  
 Lautus; *lector* (571/579)

Leo; *magister militum* (737–738)  
 Leon Corozalus (880)  
 Leo Patricius (880)  
 Leo (883)  
 Leo Bonoaldus (960)  
 Leo de Succogallo (960)  
 Leo Gaudarius (960)  
 Leo Petrilongus (960)  
 Leo Sgaudarius (960)  
 Leo ‘Torcellensis’ (971)  
 Leo; *libertus*? (971)  
 Leus Cosparius (971)  
 Leo Rossus (971)  
 Leo de Garbo (978/979)  
 Leo Bragadinus (982)  
 Leo Capellus (982)  
 Leo Petrolongus (982)  
 Leo Sturlatus; son of Iohannes (982)  
 Leo Bentanellus (979/991)  
 Leo Fumaria (979/991)  
 Leo Monetarius (979/991)

Leo Saponarius (ref 979/991)  
Leo Victor; father of Victor (ref 979/991)  
Leo Bentanellus (998)  
Leo da Molino; father of Dominicus (ref 998)  
Leo de Molino (998)  
Leo Bonozzus; son of Michal (991/1008)  
Leo Caucaninus (991/1008)  
Leo Varnerius (991/1008)  
Leo Vitalis; son of Marinus Vitalis (991/1008)

Leomanus Clianus; son of Dominicus Clianus (979/991)

Leonianus Talonicus (819)

Lubianus Aulibadus. See Iubianus Aulibadus.

Lucianus (571/579)

Lucinus (571/579)

Ludotus Marinus (998)

Lugnanus Borsus (979/991)  
Lugnanus Boysus (991/1008)

Lumanus; son of *presbiter* Lumanus (991/1008)

Lupanicus; probably father of Tribune Deusdedit (ref 853)

Luparius Luparenius; son of Ioannes (971)

# M

Magistracus (ref 853)

[... ] Magnus; father of Marcus (ref 978/979)

Malchus (fifth/sixth century)

Manous (998)

Marcellus?; *Dux* (early eighth century)

Marcianicus (eighth century)

Marconus Primollus; father of Tribunes Iohannes and Laurencius (ref 829)

Marconus Barbalongus; father of Iohannes, Martinus and Ursus (997)

Marcus Bibulus (571/579)

Marcus Raganarius (971)

Marcus; son of [...] Magnus (978/979)

Marcus Marinus; son of Ioannes (979/991)

Marcus Milianus (979/991)

Marcus Scavianicus; son of Milianus (979/991)

Marcus Petrus Severus (991/1008)

Marianus; *eloquentissimus consiliarius* of the exarch (627, 642/647)

Marianus (beginning of the ninth century)

Marinus Patricius (834/835)

Marinus Patricius; father of the Bishop of Olivolo, Iohannes Patricius (870s ref)

Marinus Patricius (ninth century)

Marinus da Molino (958)

Marinus Barbadicus (960)

Marinus Cosparius (960)

Marinus Memnonus (971)

Marinus Molanus (971)

Marinus Cyprianus; father of Cyprianus (ref 982)

Marinus Cyrinus (982)

Marinus Coloprinus (983)  
 Marinus Gradonicus (ref 979/991)  
 Marinus Rossus (979/991)  
 Marinus Zarattus (979/991)  
 Marinus (996)  
 Marinus Badus (998)  
 Marinus Michael (998)  
 Marinus Celsus Longobardus (991/1008)  
 Marinus Crassus; father of Ioannes Marinus (ref 991/1008)  
 Marinus Darius; son of Dominicus (991/1008)  
 Marinus de Canale (991/1008)  
 Marinus Petrus (991/1008)  
 Marinus Simpliciacus; father of Petrus (ref 991/1008)  
 Marinus Vitalis; father of Leo (ref 991/1008)

Martinellus (991/1008)

Martinianus (571/579)

Martinicus; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)

Martinus; *lector* (571/579)  
 Martinus Çancanus; son of Dominicus (958)  
 Martinus Rapedellus (960)  
 Martinus Theodorus (960)  
 Martinus; son of Ioannes Martinus (971)  
 Martinus Vitalianus; father of Martinus Vitalianus (ref 971)  
 Martinus Vitalianus; son of Martinus Vitalianus (971)  
 Martinus Caucalus (978)  
 Martinus Nimicanus (978)  
 Martinus Golla Pellofus (978/979)  
 Martinus Buessellus (982)  
 Martinus Capellus (982)  
 Martinus Caucalus (982)  
 Martinus Barbaromanus (979/991)  
 Martinus; *libertus* of Dominicus Madrus (979/991)  
 Martinus. *libertus* of Iohannes de Canali (979/991)  
 Martinus; *libertus* of Michael Greccus (979/991)  
 Martinus Bragadinus (979/991)

Martinus Cristophorus (979/991)  
 Martinus Diesenove (979/991)  
 Martinus Hugarda Tencha (979/991)  
 Martinus Barbalongolus; son of Marconus (997)  
 Martinus Paulus (998)  
 Martinus Azarius; son of Villelmus (991/1008)  
 Martinus Barbus Monetarius (991/1008)  
 Martinus Christoforus (991/1008)  
 Martinus de Mollino; father of Dominicus 'de Dorsoduro' (ref 991/1008)  
 Martinus da Mollino; brother of Dominicus (991/1008)  
 Martinus Gisulus (991/1008)  
 Martinus Marangus (991/1008)  
 Martinus Nimicanus; father of Fuscharus (ref 991/1008)  
 Martinus Puta (991/1008)  
 Martinus Scandolarius; father of Martinus (ref 991/1008)  
 Martinus Scandolarius; son of Martinus Scandolarus (991/1008)  
 Martinus Vivarinus (991/1008)

[Mart]urius (sixth century)

Mastalicus; father of tribunus Dominicus (ref 853)

Maurentius? (sixth/eighth century)

Maurianus (ref 824)

Mauricius; *magister militum* (639)  
 Mauricius; *Dux*; father of Duke Iohannes (764–797)  
 Mauricius; son of Duke Iohannes; co-ruler (after 797–805)  
 Mauricius (891)  
 Mauricius Antolinus (982)  
 Mauricius Maurecenus (982)  
 Mauricius Menius; son of Duke Tribunus Menius (991)  
 Mauricius Maurocenus; *advocatus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (998)  
 Mauricius Minius (998)

Maximus; *nauclerius* (571/579)

Mengadacceppus (971)

Mengus Payasucus (991/1008)

Menius Memmus (991/1008)

Michael Greccus; son of Io[hannes] Greccus (ref 979/991)

Michael Monetarius; father of Michael (ref † 999)

Michal Bonozzus; father of Leo (ref 991/1008)

Milianus Scavianicus; father of Felix and Marcus (ref 979/991)

Murgio; *lector* (571/579)

## N

Nellus Barinus (971)

Nellus Vigilius (971)

Niceforus (second half of sixth century)

Nohel; father of Nohel (ref 982)

Nohel; son of Nohel (982)

Nonnus (571/579)

## O

Obellierius; *tribunus*; *dux* (805–810)

Orsecenus Sartaricus; father of Cezaria (ref 829)

Otto Ursoylus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria; co-ruler; his original name was Petrus (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Ottolus Becharius; *libertus* (979/991)

## P

Pantaleo Abrolinus (880)

Pantaleo ... (971)

Patritius (841)

Patricius; son of Vitalis Pa[...] (853)

Paulitio?; *Dux* (early eighth century)

Paulus; *notarius* (571/579)

Paulus (sixth century)

Paulus Domnolinus (979/991)

Petrus; *famulus* of St Eufemia (571/579)

Petrus<sup>1</sup>; *notarius* (571/579)

Petrus<sup>2</sup>; *notarius* (571/579)

Petrus<sup>3</sup>; *notarius* (571/579)

Petrus (eighth/ninth century)

Petrus (825/826)

Petrus; *tribunus*; son-in-law of Rosaly (ref 829)

Petrus; *dux*; father of Iohannes (836–864)

Petrus Candianus; son of Stephanus (864)

Petrus Cletensius (864)

Petrus Flabianicus (864)

Petrus; probably son of co-ruler Iohannes, Duke Ursus II's son (880)

Petrus; son of Duke Ursus II and co-ruler (880/887)

Petrus Candianus; *dux*; father of Petrus († 887)

Petrus Tribunus; *dux*; son of Dominicus (887–911)

Petrus Candianus II; *dux*; son of Duke Petrus Candianus; father of Duke  
Petrus Candianus III (931–939)

Petrus Tribunus; father of the Bishop of Olivolo, Petrus Tribunus (ref 930s)

Petrus? (932/939)

Petrus Badavarius Particiacus; Duke and son of Duke Ursus Particiacus  
(939–942)

Petrus Rosolus (947/948)

Petrus Candianus III; *dux*; son of Duke Petrus Candianus II; father of Duke  
Petrus Candianus IV, Stephanus, Vitalis/Hugo and Aichelda (or Richelda)  
(942–959)

Petrus Atticar (960)  
 Petrus Badovarius (960)  
 Petrus Baffonus (960)  
 Petrus Bragadinus (960)  
 Petrus Graussonus (960)  
 Petrus Maurocenus (960)  
 Petrus Memus (960)  
 Petrus Ursiolus (960)  
 Petrus [...] (971)  
 Petrus; son of Bondandinus (971)  
 Petrus Bragadinus (971)  
 Petrus Florentius (971)  
 Petrus Fumaria (971)  
 Petrus Magister; father of Petrus Magister (ref 971)  
 Petrus Magister; son of Petrus Magister (971)  
 Petrus Renus (971)  
 Petrus Urseolus (971)  
 Petrus Candianus IV; *Dux*; son of Duke Petrus Candianus III; father of  
     Vitalis and Petrus (959–976)  
 Petrus Candianus; son of Duke Petrus Candianus IV († 976)  
 Petrus Ursoylus; *Dux*; father of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and probably of  
     Dominicus (976–978)  
 Petrus Formosus (978)  
 Petrus; son of Carosus (978/979)  
 Petrus Heliadus (978/979)  
 Petrus; son of *magister* Dimitrius (982)  
 Petrus Albanus (982)  
 Petrus Andreadus (982)  
 Petrus Badovarius (982)  
 Petrus Baffunus (982)  
 Petrus Barbolanus (982)  
 Petrus Buzarius (982)  
 Petrus Kaisolus (982)  
 Petrus Entius (982)  
 Petrus Filorencius (982)  
 Petrus Gradonicus (982)  
 Petrus Grausonus (982)  
 Petrus Iustinianus (982)  
 Petrus Lodoytus (982)

Petrus Marcellus (982)  
 Petrus Maurecenus; father of Petrus (ref 982)  
 Petrus Maurocenus; father of Stefanus (ref 982)  
 Petrus Maurecenus; son of Petrus Maurecenus (982)  
 Petrus Patricius (982)  
 Petrus Rapedellus (982)  
 Petrus Ursoyolus (982)  
 Petrus Vitrinicus (982)  
 Petrus Andradus; *tribunus* (983)  
 Petrus Tribunus (983)  
 Petrus [...]; father of Ioannes (979/991)  
 Petrus Boldus (979/991)  
 Petrus Buzarius (979/991)  
 Petrus Campolus (ref 979/991)  
 Petrus Domnolinus; son of Dominicus (979/991)  
 Petrus Figotus (979/991)  
 Petrus Gratosus; father of Dominicus (ref 979/991)  
 Petrus Yllarus (991)  
 Petrus Maurecenus Theodosius; father of Petrus (ref 991)  
 Petrus Maurecenus Theodosius; son of Petrus (991)  
 Petrus Centranicus (996)  
 Petrus Gradonicus (996)  
 Petrus Andreadus; father of Andreas (ref 998)  
 Petrus Bembus (998)  
 Petrus Bragadinus (998)  
 Petrus Carosus (998)  
 Petrus Centranicus (February 998)  
 Petrus Centranicus (May 998)  
 Petrus de Molino (998)  
 Petrus Florentius (998)  
 Petrus Gradonicus (998)  
 Petrus Pamleo (998)  
 Petrus Villionus (998)  
 Petrus Falletrus († 1001 or 1005)  
 Petrus Voltanus (ref 1001 or 1005)  
 Petrus (changed to Otto) Ursoylus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and  
     co-ruler (early eleventh century)  
 Petrus; son of *presbiter* Justus (991/1008)  
 Petrus; *libertus* (991/1008)

Petrus Albinus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Auregarius; son of Ursus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Carraria (991/1008)  
 Petrus Carraria; *Metamaucensis* (991/1008)  
 Petrus de Rivo; son of Azilus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Donatus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Dondus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Fuschellus; father of Julianus (ref 991/1008)  
 Petrus Magister Petrus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Marimbianus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Simpliciacus; son of Marinus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Taurinus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Tenca; son of Dominicus (991/1008)  
 Petrus Ursoylus II; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus; *dux* (991–1008)  
  
 Probus (571/579)

## R

Rabeeus ? (unknown date)  
  
 Reparatus (end of the sixth century)  
  
 Restaldus; *libertus* (979/991)  
  
 Rosaly; *tribunus* (ref 829)  
  
 Rusticus (827/828)

## S

Sabatinus (ref 888)

Sambatinus de Barinos (979/991)

Sambattinus Franchanicus (979/991)

Sambatinus Franchus (991/1008)

Sambo (fifth/sixth century)

Savinus Talonicus (819)

Secularis (or Seconius); *lector*, *amanuensis*, and *domesticus* of St Eufemia (571/579)

Serges (fifth/sixth century)

Sesinius; *cubicolaris* (sixth century)

Sochin Zorchus (991/1008)

Staphilus (ref 991/1008)

Stavilus: father of Dominicus (ref 979/991)

Stefanus; *naucclerius* (571/579)

Stephanus; *miles* (end of the sixth century)

Στέφανος (= Stephanus); σινάτορ σχολῆς αἱματουρῶν (= *sinator* of *scholae armaturarum*) (sixth century / beginning of the seventh century)

Stephanus? (ref 627)

Stephanus (683/685)

Stephanus Talonicus (819)

Stephanus Candianus; father of Petrus (864)

Stephanus de Sabulo (864)

Stefanus Coloprinus (925, 927)

Stephanus Candianus; son of Duke Petrus Candianus III (960)

Stephanus Candianus (960)

Stephanus Coloprinus (960)

Stephanus Maurocenus (960)

Stefanus Zopulus (960)  
Stefanus Coloprinus (971)  
Stephanus Bonoaldus; father of Dominicus (ref 982)  
Stephanus Maurecenus ( 982)  
Stephanus Maurecenus; son of Petrus Maurecenus (982)  
Stephanus Stornatus (982)  
Stefanus Zenus (982)  
Stefanus Coloprinus; father of Dominicus, Iohannes and Stefanus (982, † 983)  
Stefanus Coloprinus; son of Stefanus († 983)  
Stephanus Bonaldus (998)  
Stefanus Bennis; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)  
Stefanus Bonus (991/1008)  
Stephanus de Mollino; father of Vitales (ref 991/1008)  
Stephanus Flamolanus; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)

## T

Talassius (571/579)

Tertius (571/579)

Theodorus; son of Serges (fifth/sixth century)

Theophilatus (ref 829)

Thomas (571/579)

Θωμάς/Thomas?; στρατηλάτης (*stratelates*); *magister militum* (sixth/eighth century)

Tinus Sartor (971)

Trazamundus (ref 829)

Tribunus Vitrinicus (982)

Tribunus Menius; *dux* (979–991)

Tribunus [...] (998)

Tribunus Andreadus (998)

Tritulus († 834/835)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Pigianicus (960)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Menius (971)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Huillarenius (Huillareni) (1001 or 1005)

Turdus Matalardus (971)

## U

Ugo Candianus; see Vitalis/Ugo Candianus (*c.* second half of tenth century)

Urso Badovarius; son of Iohanna Badovarius (953)

Ursonus Petrolongus (982)

Ursus (571/579)

Ursus; *dux* (726–737)

Ursus (eighth century?)

Ursus Grugnarius (864)

Ursus II; *dux* (864–881)

Ursus; son of Duke Ursus II; co-ruler (881/887)

Ursus Badovarius (900)

Ursus Particiacus; *dux*; father of Petrus Badavarius (911–931)

Ursus Badovarius (947/948)

Ursus [...] (960)

Ursus Bragadinus (960)

Ursus Barbadicus (971)

Ursus Dandolus (978/979)

Ursus Daneus (ref 978/979)

Ursus Badovarius (982)

Ursus Matrus (982)

Ursus Ursoyolus (982)

Ursus<sup>1</sup> Vitriniciacus (982)

Ursus<sup>2</sup> Vitriniciacus (982)

Ursus Badovarius (983)

Ursus Bragadinus (ref 979/991)

Ursus Badovarius (996)

Ursus Nohel (996)

Ursus Barbalongolus; son of Marconus (997)

Ursus; son of Andreadus (998)

Ursius Baduarius (998)

Ursus Sguadarius; son of Valentinus (998)

Ursus Auregarius; father of Petrus (ref 991/1008)

Ursus da Pordo (991/1008)

Ursus Germanus (991/1008)

Ursus Vanzus (991/1008)  
 Ursus Watizzus (ref 991/1008)

## V

Valentinianus (fifth/sixth century)

Valentinus; co-ruler (805/810)  
 Valentinus (819)  
 Valentinus Sgaudarius (960)  
 Valentinus Sguadarius; father of Ursus (ref 998)

Valerianus (571/579)  
 Valerianus; husband of Valeria and probably father of Decentiana (571/579)

Vassilius Ursoylus (early eleventh century)

Venerius Aucellus (991/1008)

Victor (834/835)  
 Victor; son of Leo Victor (979/991)

Victorinus; *lector* (571/579)

Victurus (or Victurinus) (sixth century)

Vigilius (571/579)  
 Vigilius; *tribunus* (880)  
 Vigilius (883)

Villemus Azarius; father of Martinus (ref 991/1008)

Vitales (571/579)  
 Vitales (eighth/ninth century)  
 Vitalis Pascalicus; *tribunus* (ref 829)  
 Vitalis Pa [...]; father of Patricius (ref 853)  
 Vitalis (891)

Vitalis Candianus (960)  
 Vitalis Capellus (960)  
 Vitalis Marineschus (971)  
 Vitalis Partegorus (971)  
 Vitalis Tentoressus (971)  
 Vitalis Candianus (963, 972)  
 Vitalis Candianus; *dux* (978–979)  
 Vitalis Memmus; father of Dominicus Benedictus (ref 978/979)  
 Vitalis ‘de Aibolas’ (978/979)  
 Vitalis; father of Dominicus (ref 982)  
 Vitalis Contarenus (982)  
 Vitalis Dandulus (982)  
 Vitalis Grecus (982)  
 Vitalis Stornatus (982)  
 Vitalis Candianus; father of Dominicus Candianus (ref May 998)  
 Vitalis de Auro (998)  
 Vitalis Emilianus (998)  
 Vitalis Martinatus (998)  
 Vitalis Zabiretus (998)  
 Vitalis/Ugo Candianus; *comes* of Padua and Vicenza; son of Duke Petrus  
     Candianus III and Richelda (c. second half of tenth century)  
 Vitalis Senator (ref 1001 or 1005)  
 Vitalis ‘de Aybolas’ (991/1008)  
 Vitalis de Canali; father of Marinus (ref 991/1008)  
 Vitalis de Mollino; son of Stefanus (991/1008)  
 Vitalis de Pantano (991/1008)  
 Vitalis Gabrielis (991/1008)  
 Vitales (before eleventh century)  
  
 Vitus Pepus; son of Ioannes (971)

## W

Watizus (991/1008)

## Z

Zeno/Zenonus (982)

Zenus; father of Zenus (998)

Zenus; son of Zeno (998)

Zenus Maulatus (998)

### *1b. Male Ecclesiastics*

Agathon; patriarch (670s–680s)

Albinus; *presbyter* (579)

Antoninus; patriarch (720s–740s)

Antonius; *defensor ecclesie*, probably of Grado (588/589)

Benenatus?; bishop (680)

Boysus; *presbiter* (ref 829)

Bonus; patriarch (955, 960)

Candidianus; patriarch (beginning of the seventh century)

Castus; *presbiter* (579)

Christoforus; patriarch of Grado (685–717)

Christoforus I; *episcopus* of Olivolo (798–806)

Christoforus II; *presbyter*; *plebanus* of St Moysis; *episcopus* of Olivolo (806, 819)

Cyprianus; patriarch (610s–620s)

Ciprianus; *episcopus* (900)

Constantinus; *diaconus*; *scriba* (853)

Custansius; *presbiter* (seventh century)

Deusdedi; *episcopus* of Altino (690s–710s)

Deusdedi; *presbiter et monachus* (829)

Deusdedi; *presbiter* (829)

Deusdedi?; *abbas* of the monastery of St Hilarius (839)

Deusdedus; *episcopus* of Torcello (860s)

Dominicus; *abbas* of the monastery of St Michael Archangel (800)

Dominicus; *presbiter* (829)

- Dominicus; *episcopus* of Torcello; monk (early 830s)  
 Dominicus; bishop of Olivolo (860s–870s)  
 Dominicus; monk of St Hillarius; abbot of Altino; bishop of Torcello (870s)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter et cancellarius* (880)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter et cappellanus* of Duke Petrus Tribunus (891)  
 Dominicus; patriarch of Grado (early tenth century)  
 Dominicus?; *diaconus, cancellarius, tabellio* (919?)  
 Dominicus; archdeacon of Metamauco; *episcopus* of Metamauco (910s, 925)  
 Dominicus II; bishop of Olivolo († 930s)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter et cancellarius* (960)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter* († 980)  
 Dominicus; *episcopus* (982)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter* (982)  
 Dominicus; *diaconus* (982)  
 Dominicus Barbanus; *presbiter* (982)  
 Dominicus Tanolicus; *presbiter* (982)  
 Dominicus; *presbiter* (1002)  
 Dominicus; *diaconus, notarius* (1001 or 1005)  
 Dominicus Gradonicus; bishop of Olivolo (c. 996, 1000, 1007/1008)
- Donatus; patriarch of Grado (717–720s)
- Dorotheus; *presbiter* (579)
- Emerius; *presbiter provincialis* (579)
- Emilianus; patriarch of Grado (740s–750s)
- Epyphanius; patriarch of Grado (beginning of the seventh century)
- Felix; *episcopus* of Metamauco (876)  
 Felix; *episcopus* (ninth century)  
 Felix? Businiacus; *presbiter*; father of Dominicus (ref 991/1008)
- Fortunatus; patriarch of Grado (627)  
 Fortunatus II; patriarch of Grado (802/803–820s)

Gazeus; *diaconus* (571/579)

Georgius; *presbiter* (826)

Georgius (or Gregorius); patriarch of Grado (late 890s)

Georgius; *diaconus* (959)

Gyslibertus/Jngelbertus; *episcopus* of Torcello/Altino (900)

Gregorius; *presbiter* (959)

Helya/Helias; patriarch (570s–580s)

Helias?; patriarch (853)

Honoratus; *episcopus* of Altino (710s)

Iohannaci; *presbiter* (end of eighth century/beginning of ninth century)

Iohannaci; *presbiter* (end of ninth century/beginning of tenth century)

Joanici; *abbas* of St Stephanus of Altino (900)

Iohannes; patriarch of Grado (766–802/803)

Iohannes II; *diaconus*; bishop of Olivolo; patriarch of Grado (806–810)

Iohannes III; abbot of St Servolus; patriarch of Grado (819, 820s)

Iohannes; *episcopus* of Torcello (830s)

Iohannes; *arcidiaconus* of Grado (864)

Iohannes; *presbiter* (874)

Iohannes; *episcopus* of Civitas Nova-Heracliana (870s)

Iohannes Patricius; son of Marinus Patricius; *arcidiaconus*;  
bishop of Olivolo (870s)

Iohannes?; bishop of Olivolo (919?)

Johannes; bishop of Torcello (960)

Iohannes; *diaconus* (967)

Iohannes; *episcopus* (982)

Iohannes; *presbiter et primicerius* of St Mark (982)

Iohannes Barbarus; *presbiter* (982)

Iohannes Maurocenus; *monachus* (982)

Iohannes Coloprinus; *clericus*; son of Stefanus Coloprinus († 983)

Iohannes; ‘*diaconus et cappellanus*’ of Petrus Ursoylus (995)

Johannes Stanarius; *presbiter* (995)

Iohannes; *diaconus* (996)

Joannes; *presbiter et notarius* (February 998)

Ioannes Caisolus; *presbiter et notarius* (998)

Iohannes; *diaconus; capellanus* (1000, 1002)

Iohannes; *clericus* (1008)

Iohannes; *diaconus* (991/1008)

Iulianus; *episcopus* of Altinus/Torcello (640s-690s)

Iustus; *presbiter* (825–826)

Iustus; *presbiter* (829)

Iustus; *presbiter*; father of Iohannes and Petrus (ref 991/1008)

Landus; abbot of St Michael Archangel (ref 991)

Laurentius; *presbiter provincialis* (579)

Laurentius; *presbiter* (579)

Laurentius<sup>1</sup>; *diaconus* (571/579)

Laurentius<sup>2</sup>; *diaconus* (571/579)

Laurentius; *archidiaconus* of Grado (876)

Laurentius; *archidiaconus* of Grado; probably uncle of the deacon of Grado,

Laurentius (876)

Laurentius; *diaconus* of Grado (876)

Laurentius; *presbyter; episcopus* of Olivolo (870s, 883)

Laurentius; patriarch (early tenth century)

Leo; *presbiter* (579)

Leo; *episcopus* of Caprulas (876, 877)

Leo; *episcopus* of Metamauco (877, 878)

Leo; abbot of St Michael Archangel (991)

Leo; *episcopus* of Metamauco (1007/1008)

Lucillus; *presbiter* (579)

Lumanus; *presbiter*; father of Lumanus (ref 991/1008)

Magnus; *presbiter et scriniarius* of Grado (768/772)

Marcianus; *presbiter* (579)

Marcianus; *patriarcha* (beginning of the seventh century)

Marinus; *presbiter provincialis* (579)

Marinus?; *abbas* of the monastery of St Felix, Fortunatus, Cosma, and Damianus (919?)

Marinus?; bishop of Caprulas (919?)

Marinus?; bishop of Metamauco (919?)

Marinus; patriarch of Grado (ref 933; 948)

Marinus; *diaconus et notarius* (971)

Marinus; *episcopus* (971, 982)

Marinus; *diaconus* (992)

Marinus; *episcopus* of Olivolo († c. 996)

Martinus; *presbiter et gramaticus* (982)

Martinus Fundacinus; *presbiter* (982)

Mauricius; *sacerdos*? (ref 824)

Maurus; bishop of Altino/Torcello (640s)

Maurus; bishop of Olivolo (850s/860s)

Maximus; patriarch of Grado (648–668)

Michael Monetarius; *clericus*; son of Michael Monetarius (999)

Natalis; *plebanus* (991/1008)

Obeliebatus; *clericus; episcopus* of Olivolo (775–998)

Paulus; patriarch (568/569)

Paulus ?; *episcopus* of Altino (680)

Paulus; abbot of St Michael Archangel (954)

Petrus; *diaconus* (804)

Petrus; *presbiter* (819)

Petrus; *episcopus* of Equilo (864, 876, 877)

Petrus; *patriarcha* (870s)

Petrus; *subdiaconus et notarius* (908)

Petrus?; *episcopus* of Torcello (919?)

- Petrus; *episcopus* of Civitas Nova-Heracliana (960)  
 Petrus; *episcopus* of Olivolo (960)  
 Petrus; abbot of St Hilarius (981)  
 Petrus Maurocenus; *monachus* (981)  
 Petrus Gatilesus; *diaconus* (982)  
 Petrus Mauricinus; *monachus* (983)  
 Petrus; *presbiter* (979/991)  
 Petrus; *presbiter* (995)  
 Petrus; *diaconus et cappellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (998)  
 Petrus; *diaconus* (991/1008)  
 Petrus; *diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palatii* (900/1094)
- Philippus; monk (after 829/tenth century)
- Primogenius; *patriarcha* (628–648)
- Probinus; *patriarcha* (570s)
- Provincialis; *presbiter* (579)
- Raphael; *presbiter et notarius* (900)
- Scarabaucus; abbot of St Michael (998)
- Senator; *episcopus* of Altino († 875/876)
- Sergius; *presbiter* (579)  
 Sevancinus; *presbiter* (579)
- Severinus; *episcopus* of Altino/Torcello (720s/730s)
- Severus; patriarch of Grado (late 580s/beginning of the seventh century)
- Stephanus; patriarch of Grado (668–672)
- Tiberius; *presbiter* (821)  
 Tiberius; *diaconus* (825/826)

Ursianus/Ursinianus?; bishop (680)

Ursus; bishop of Olivolo (821?–853?; or 828?–860?)

Ursus?; bishop of Civitas Nova-Heracliana (919?)

Ursus II; bishop of Olivolo (940s–950s)

Ursus Ursoylus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II; bishop of Altino/Torcello  
(beginning of eleventh century)

Valerius; bishop of Altino/Torcello (988–1008)

Venerius; *diaconus* (ref 824)

Venerius; patriarch (820s–840s)

Victor; patriarch (840s–850s)

Victor II; patriarch (late 870s–890s)

Vitalianus; patriarch (757–766)

Vitalianus?; *presbiter*; *archidiaconus* (853)

Vitalis; *episcopus* of Altino (720s)

Vitalis; patriarch of Grado (850s–870s)

Vitalis?; *Abbas* of the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict (883)

Vitalis II; patriarch (late 870s–890s)

Vitalis; *presbiter et notarius* (982)

Vitalis; *presbiter et notarius* (983)

Vitalis; *presbiter et notarius* (991)

Vitalis III Candianus; son of Duke Petrus Candianus IV and Iohania;  
*diaconus*; *patriarcha* (960s–1010s)

Vitalis Ursoylus; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria; he became an  
ecclesiastic (end of tenth century/beginning of eleventh century)

Vuilllelmus; abbot of the monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict (1008)

Zimarcus; *primicerius* (end of sixth century)

*1c. Lay Females*

Afrodites (fifth/sixth century)

Agnella (sixth/seventh century)

Agnella Tribunus (ninth century)

Agnetta (571/579)

Aichelda (or Richelda) Candianus; daughter of Richelda (959/976)

Anastasia (fifth/sixth century)

Antonina; mother of Mellita (571/579)

Aureliana (571/579)

Bona; mother of deacon Gazeus (571/579)

Bona; wife of *lector* Murgio (571/579).

Cezaria Sartaricus (ref 829)

Decentiana; probably daughter of Valeria (571/579)

Diugenia (571/579)

Dominicia Caligarius (978)

Eufimia (fifth/sixth century)

Eugenia (571/579)

Eusebia (571/579)

Felicia (second half of ninth century)

Felicia Ursoylus (970s)

Felicitas (829)

Hicela Ursoylus; daughter of Maria (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Hwalderada Candianus (960s–970s)

Iohanna (571/579)

Iohanna Badovarius (953)

Joanna Cipalergius (991/1008)

Iohania Candianus; Petrus Candianus IV divorced her and forced her to become a nun of the monastery of St Zacharias (960s)

Luciana (571/579)

Lobana Cenibis Cogitanis (ref 829)

Maria Ursoylus; mother of Hicela (second half of tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Maria Ursoylus; daughter of Byzantine Patrician Argirus and wife of Iohannes, the son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II († 1007?)

Marina Menius (second half of tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Mellita; daughter of Antonina (571/579)

Nitiana (571/579)

Paulina (before eleventh century)

Passibo (ref 824)

Probina (571/579)

Richelda Candianus; mother of Aichelda (or Richelda) (c. first half of tenth century)

Romana (571/579)

Romana (829)

Severa (571/579)

Severina (571/579)

Simplicia (571/579)

Sophia (991/1008)

Suria (ref 829)

Tancia (seventh century/ninth century)

Thecla (fifth/sixth century)

Valeria; probably mother of Decentiana (571/579)

Valeriana (571/579)

### *1d. Ecclesiastical Females*

Agatha; *Dei ancila* (ref 829)

Agatha; *Christi famula*; daughter of Duke Mauricius and sister of Suria (ref 829)

Costancia; *Domini ancilla* (eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)

Iohannia; *Dei ancilla*; daughter of Romana cata Betegani 'de Equilo' (ref 829)

Iohannia; abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias (second half of the ninth century)

Iohannia; abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias (963)

Maria; *Christi famula* (ref 829)

Petronia; abbess of the monastery of St Zacharias (997, 998)

Petronia; abbess of the monastery of St Laurentius (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Romana cata Betegani; *Dei ancilla*; mother of Iohannia (ref 829)

Romana; *Dei ancilla* (853)

Steffana; *Christi famula* (ref 829)

Trionessa Gradonicus; *monacha* of the monastery of St Laurentius (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

## APPENDIX 2: RULERS OF VENICE

### 1. Paulitio? (early eighth century)

*Dux.* John the Deacon narrates that, during the rule of Emperor Anastasius II (713–715) and the Lombard King Liutprand (712–744), the Venetians elected Paulitio as duke in Civitas Nova-Heracliana. He made a peace treaty with the Lombard sovereign and reached an agreement regulating Venetian rights on the mainland between the rivers Piave and Plavisella.<sup>1</sup> After ruling for twenty years and six months, Paulitio died in 727 at Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of primary sources for this period along with the clear intentions of John the Deacon and subsequent Venetian chroniclers to hide the fact that the Venetians were subjects of the Byzantine Empire has led modern scholars to consider the autonomous election of Venetian dukes at the beginning of the eighth century as a later invention. Some students even doubt the existence of

<sup>1</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 2: ‘Temporibus nempe imperatoris Anastasii et Liuprandi Langobardorum regis, omnes Venetici, una cum patriarcha et episcopis convenientes, communi consilio determinaverunt quod dehinc honorabilius esse sub ducibus quam sub tribunis manere. Cumque diu pertractarent quem illorum ad hanc dignitatem proveherent, tandem invenerunt peritissimum et illustrem virum, Paulitionem nomine, cui iusiurandi fidem dantes, eum apud Eraclianam civitatem ducem constituerunt. Qui tante fuerat temperantie ut equo moderamine suos diiudicaret. Cum Liuprando vero rege inconvulse pacis vinculum confirmavit; apud quem pacti statuta, que nunc inter Veneticorum et Longobardorum populum manent, impetravit. Fines etiam Civitatis nove, que actenus a Veneticis possidentur, iste cum eodem rege instituit, id est a Plave maiore, secundum quod designata loca discernuntur, usque in Plavisellam’.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 10: ‘Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXVII, mortuo Paulitione duce apud Civitatem novam, qui ducavit annis XX, mensibus VI, cui successit Marcellus dux’.

the first two dukes Paulitio and Marcellus. Scholars believe that their mention in the *Istoria Veneticorum* was based on either a mistaken reading or an intentional distortion of a passage of the *pactum Lotharii* (840), in which there is a reference to an agreement about the territory of Civitas Nova-Heracliana, established during the rule of the Lombard King Liutprand (712–744), between *dux* Paulitius and *magister militum* Marcellus.<sup>3</sup> For example, Roberto Cessi maintains that Paulitius and Marcellus were two Byzantine officers, while Gian Piero Bognetti and Stefano Gasparri hypothesize that Paulitius was a Lombard duke.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Marcellus? (early eighth century)

*Dux.* John the Deacon narrates that Marcellus held the office of duke for eighteen years and twenty days in the city of Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>5</sup>

## 3. Ursus (726–737)

*Dux; ypatus.*<sup>6</sup> His son Deusdedi ruled Venice as a *magister militum* and as duke.<sup>7</sup> After governing for eleven years and five months in the city of Civitas Nova-Heracliana, Ursus was killed by some Venetians who decided to elect a *magister militum* instead of a new duke.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 55, p. 107, chapters 26, 28: 'De finibus autem Civitatis novae statuimus, ut, sicut a tempore Liuthprandi regis terminatio facta est inter Paulitionem ducem et Marcellum magistrum militum, ita permanere debeat, secundum quod Aistulfus ad vos Civitatinos novos largitus est ... Peculiarumque vestrarum partium greges pascere debeat cum securitate usque in terminum, quem posuit Paulitius dux cum Civitatinis novis, sicut in pacto legitur de Plave maiore usque in Plave siccam, quod est terminus vel proprietas vestra'.

<sup>4</sup> For the bibliography on this topic, see Cessi, "Paulicius Dux". Carile, 'La formazione del ducato veneziano', pp. 226–28. Bognetti, 'Natura, politica e religioni nelle origini di Venezia', p. 523. Pavan and Arnaldi, 'Le origini dell'identità lagunare', pp. 428–31. Gasparri, 'Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX', pp. 5–8. Gasparri, 'Anno 713', pp. 26–45.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 10, 11: 'Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXVII, mortuo Paulitione duce apud Civitatem novam, qui ducavit annis XX, mensibus VI, cui successit Marcellus dux ... Eodem quoque tempore prelibato Marcello duce mortuo, qui apud Civitatem novam Venecie ducatum annis decem et octo et diebus viginti gubernaverat, cui successit Ursus dux'.

<sup>6</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 17: 'videlicet Deusdedem, sepedicti Ursonis ypati filium'.

<sup>7</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 11, 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 11: 'Eodem quoque tempore prelibato Marcello duce mortuo, qui apud Civitatem novam Venecie ducatum annis decem et octo et diebus viginti gubernaverat, cui successit Ursus dux, qui etiam in eadem civitate sepedictum ducatum rexerat annis XI et

#### 4. Leo (737–738)

*Magister militum*. He was the first of five *magistri militum* who governed Venice in the eighth century. He ruled for one year.<sup>9</sup>

#### 5. Felix Cornicula (738–739)

*Magister militum*. He ruled for one year.<sup>10</sup>

#### 6. Deusdedi (739–740)

*Magister militum*. Deusdedi was Duke Ursus's son. He governed for one year.<sup>11</sup>

#### 7. Iubianus (740–741)

*Magister militum*; *ypatus*. The exarch of Ravenna took refuge at Venice during his rule and requested assistance against the Lombards, who had conquered Ravenna. The Venetians sent a fleet to Ravenna, defeated the Lombards and restored the city to the exarch.<sup>12</sup> Iubianus, who had the title of *ypatus*, governed for one year.<sup>13</sup>

mensibus V. Unde postmodum Venetici illum acri livore interimentes, quinque annorum spatio magistris militum tantummodo subditi manere voluerunt.

<sup>9</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: 'Unde postmodum Venetici illum acri livore interimentes, quinque annorum spatio magistris militum tantummodo subditi manere voluerunt. Primus quorum nomine Leo dicebatur, cuius potestas super eosdem fuit anno I'.

<sup>10</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: 'Unde postmodum Venetici illum acri livore interimentes, quinque annorum spatio magistris militum tantummodo subditi manere voluerunt ... Deinde secundus illorum nominabatur Felix, cognomento Cornicula, qui similiter illos unius anni spatio rexerat'.

<sup>11</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: 'Unde postmodum Venetici illum acri livore interimentes, quinque annorum spatio magistris militum tantummodo subditi manere voluerunt ... Exinde tercius magister militum vocitabatur Deusdedi, filius sepepredicti Ursonis interfecti ducis, qui etiam unius anni spatio illius potestatis fuerat'.

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 12: 'Cuius quoque diebus exarchus, Ravennae primas, Venetiam veniens, nimiumque Veneticos postulans quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus, nepos Liubrandi regis, et Paradeus, Vicentinus dux, captam habuerant, tueri atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset. Cuius Venetici faventes petitioni, navali cum exercitu prelibatam Ravennam ad urbem properantes, unus illorum, Ildebrandus scilicet, vivus ab eis captus est, alter vero, qui dicebatur Paradeus, acriter dimicando occubuerat, atque huiusmodi exarcho prelibato primati urbs decem est restituta'.

<sup>13</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: 'Postmodum quartus ex is habebatur Iubianus nomine, *ypatus*; eiusdem honoris unius anni similiter possessor fuerat'.

### 8. Iohannes Fabriacus (741–742)

*Magister militum*. Just like the previous four *magistri militum*, Iohannes Fabriacus ruled for one year, but, the Venetians blinded him at the end of his term.<sup>14</sup> He could be *magister militum* Iohannes from whose house Patriarch Fortunatus II ordered that some copper to be taken.<sup>15</sup>

### 9. Deusdedi (742–755)

*Dux*. Deusdedi was Duke Ursus's son. Having deposed and blinded the *magister militum*, Iohannes Fabriacus, the Venetians elected Deusdedi as their duke. He had previously governed Venice as *magister militum*.<sup>16</sup> The election took place on the island of Metamauco. During his rule, the Venetians built the *castrum* of Brondolo. After thirteen years of government, Deusdedi was overthrown and blinded by Galla.<sup>17</sup>

### 10. Galla (755–756)

*Dux*. After overthrowing and blinding Duke Deusdedi, Galla ruled for one year and shared the same fate as his predecessor; he was deposed and blinded.<sup>18</sup>

### 11. Dominicus Monegarius (756–764)

*Dux*. Having deposed Galla, the Venetians elected Dominicus Monegarius, a native of Metamauco, as duke. During each year of his term, his compatriots

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 14: 'His prelibatis post decessum predictorum quatuor militum magistrorum, quintus eiusdem prefecture ordinatur, qui Iohannes Fabriacus vocabatur; cuius simili modo, ut alii, principatus unius anni spatio manserat, ipsiusque etiam a Veneticis oculi avulsi sunt'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 78: 'rame de casa Ioanni magistro milite tulerunt'.

<sup>16</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: 'Exinde tercius magister militum vocitabatur Deusdedi, filius sepedicti Ursonis interfecti ducis, qui etiam unius anni spatio illius potestatis fuerat'.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 17: 'Eisdem etiam diebus Venetici, magistrorum militum prelibate prefecture dignitatem abominantes, rursum, ut quondam, ducem, videlicet Deusdedem, sepedicti Ursonis ypati filium, in Metamaucense insula sibi crearunt; cuius regimen extitit spatio annis XIII. Ipse quoque post hec, cum decoris et honestatis gratia castrum, quod Brundulus dicitur, non eo loco in quo nunc situm videtur, sed ultra presentem ripam fluminis condere voluit et illic a quodam infideli, Galla nomine, eius avulsi sunt oculi ipsius'.

<sup>18</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 17: 'illic a quodam infideli, Galla nomine, eius avulsi sunt oculi ipsiusque ducatum auferens possessorque eius unius anni spatio fuerat. Super quem deinde Venetici irruentes unaque conspirantes voluntate, oculos similiter illius eruerunt'.

elected two tribunes who were under the command of Dominicus. After having ruled for eight years, a group of Venetians overthrew and blinded him.<sup>19</sup>

## 12. Mauricius (764–797)

*Dux; magister militum*;<sup>20</sup> *ypatus*. He had a son, Iohannes, who was captured in the early 770s during a campaign against the Lombards in Istria,<sup>21</sup> and two daughters, Agatha and Suria.<sup>22</sup> Mauricius was elected on the island of Metamauco. He also had the title of *ypatus* that was granted to him before 770/771.<sup>23</sup> He created the bishopric of Olivolo in the eleventh year of his rule (775) and had the clerk Obeliebatus elected bishop of that see. After governing for thirty-one years, Mauricius appointed his son Iohannes as co-ruler. He died two years later. Mauricius was from Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 18: 'Loco cuius Dominicum, cognomento Monegarium Metamaucensem, ducem sibi fecerunt et, ut mos vulgi est, qui nunquam in preposita voluntate persistens, sed quandam superstitiosa stultitia alias atque alias adinventiones excogitans, primo illius ducati anno tribunos duos, qui sub ducali decreto consisterent, sibi preposuerunt. Quod etiam per singulos annos prenominati ducis vite facere conati sunt. Deinde prefati Venetici, facta conspiratione, eiusdem Dominici ducis oculos evellerunt, fueruntque anni ducatus illius numero octo.'

<sup>20</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: 'de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie'.

<sup>21</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. 491.

<sup>22</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: 'De territoria qui sunt infra fines Civitatis Nove quas donacionis cartula habere et tenere visi sumus de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie, quod ei in divisione obvenit da Suria germana eius'.

<sup>23</sup> In a letter dated to 770/771, he is described as *consul* and *dux*. *Consul* is the Latin translation of *ypatus*. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, 49: 'Mauricio, consuli et imperiali duci huius Venetiarum provinciae'.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'Post dicessum cuius omnis Veneticorum frequentia simul collecta quendam civem Heraclianae civitatis, Mauricium nomine, peritissimum seculari studio, ducatus honore apud Metamaucensem insulam sublimavit. Qui dum sapienter et honorifice Veneticorum causam in omnibus tractaret, undecimo sui ducatus anno apud Olivolensem insulam apostolica auctoritate novum episcopatum fore decrevit, in quo quendam clericum, Obelliebatum nomine, episcopum ordinavit. Dehinc, cum triginta et uno anno ducatus dignitatem gubernaret, iam effectus senex, populo interpellante, Iohannem suum filium honoris sui habere consortem complacuit; duobus postmodum annis cum sobole extitit et sic ultimum in pace finivit diem'.

### 13. Iohannes (797–805)

*Dux.* Iohannes was the son of Duke Mauricius and had a son named Mauricius. The Venetians elected Iohannes duke after his father's death on the island of Metamauco. He had previously co-ruled with Mauricius for two years. Following his father's example, Iohannes nominated his son as co-ruler,<sup>25</sup> whom he sent with a fleet against the Patriarch of Grado, Iohannes. Obeying his father's order, Mauricius killed the churchman.<sup>26</sup> This action probably induced Fortunatus II, the new Patriarch of Grado, and several Venetians to leave Venice. The former went to Charlemagne's court, while the latter took refuge at Treviso where the dissidents elected Tribune Obellierius as their new duke. Upon learning of the election, Iohannes fled to Mantua while Mauricius escaped to *Francia*.<sup>27</sup> He could be *magister militum* Iohannes from whose house Patriarch Fortunatus II ordered to take some copper.<sup>28</sup> Iohannes is never

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'Dehinc, cum triginta et uno anno ducatus dignitatem gubernaret, iam effectus senex, populo interpellante, Iohannem suum filium honoris sui habere consortem complacuit; duobus postmodum annis cum sobole extitit et sic ultimum in pace finivit diem. Praeterea cum essent anni a Domini incarnatione octigenti viginti tres, Iohannes, Mauricii antedicti filius, honoris fastigium apud eandem insulam adorsus est gubernare; quem neque scripto neque relatione experti sumus suae patriae commoda bene tractasse. Extitit quidem sibi filius, Mauricius nomine, cui octavo decimo anno sui ducatus eiusdem dignitatis societatem concessit'. John the Deacon makes some chronological mistakes, as Mauricius ruled for about eight years.

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 22: 'Anno vero vigesimo tercio ducatus predicti Iohannis, comperta occasione, suum filium Mauricium navali exercitu ad Gradensem urbem, ut domnum Iohannem, sanctissimum patriarcham, interficeret, destinavit. Ubi illuc pervenit, paternis iussionibus optemperare studens, eundem sanctissimum virum crudeliter interfecit'.

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricius et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio, ibique non diutius degentes, consilio illorum ammoniti qui in Venetia morabantur, Obellierium tribunum ducem elegerunt. Quo Iohannes et Mauricius duces comperto, adtritum timoratione, fuga lapsi sunt. Alter illorum Franciam, id est Mauricius, alter vero Mantuam adivit, ubi adeo commorati sunt, ut neuter illorum Veneciam rediret, sed illic diem clausurunt extremum'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, p. 78: 'rame de casa Ioanni magistro milite tulerunt'.

mentioned with this title, but his father, Duke Mauricius, is also defined in this way.<sup>29</sup>

#### 14. Obellierius (805–810)

*Tribunus; dux; spatharius.* He was a tribune of Metamauco. Obellierius was among the group of Venetians opposed to Duke Iohannes who left Venice for Treviso. He was elected as duke of Venice at Treviso. He returned to Venice and began his rule upon hearing that Duke Iohannes and his son Mauricius had fled.<sup>30</sup> Shortly thereafter, the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, who had left the Venetian duchy because he had opposed Duke Iohannes, decided to return to Venice, but Obellierius did not give him the permission to enter the duchy. John the Deacon does not mention the reason for this refusal, but it is likely that the main motive was the fact that Fortunatus II had arrived with the Bishop of Olivolo, Christoforus.<sup>31</sup> The latter had shown himself to be an adversary of Obellierius by leaving Venice with Duke Iohannes.<sup>32</sup> The situation was further complicated because the deacon Iohannes had replaced Christoforus as Bishop of Olivolo. The patriarch of Grado, however, believed that Iohannes was unjustly holding the office of bishop and had him captured. Iohannes nevertheless managed to flee, and the relations between Obellierius and Fortunatus II became even tenser. Finally, an agreement was reached, and Christoforus was given the Bishopric of Olivolo and the patriarch was

<sup>29</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 20–21: ‘de Agathe Christi famula filia quidem domno Mauricio magistro militi qui fuit dux Venecie’.

<sup>30</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: ‘Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio, ibique non diutius degentes, consilio illorum ammoniti qui in Venetia morabantur, Obellierium tribunum ducem elegerunt. Quo Iohannes et Mauricius duces comperto, adtritum timoratione, fuga lapsi sunt. Alter illorum Franciam, id est Mauricius, alter vero Mantuam adivit, ubi adeo commorati sunt, ut neuter illorum Veneciam rediret, sed illic diem clausissent extremum’.

<sup>31</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: ‘Post aliquod vero tempus Fortunatus patriarcha cum Christoforo episcopo de Francia repedavit. Quibus cum fas non esset Veneciam penetrare, in sancti Cipriani ecclesia, plebe scilicet Altinatis episcopii, quae scita est apud Mistrinam, ospitati et aliquamdiu commorati sunt’.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24.

allowed to go back to Grado.<sup>33</sup> Immediately after taking possession of power, Obellierius appointed his brother Beatus co-ruler<sup>34</sup> and later gave the same title to Valentinus, another of his brothers.<sup>35</sup> At the beginning of Obellierius's rule, the Venetians destroyed Civitas Nova-Heracliana and he sent a fleet to sack Dalmatia.<sup>36</sup> At the end of 805, Obellierius and Beatus went to the court of Charlemagne who had decided to bring the Duchy of Venice within his sphere of influence.<sup>37</sup> Following this action, the Byzantine Patrician Niceta went to Venice and granted Obellierius the title of *spatharius* to induce the duke to abandon his 'Francophile' leanings. Beatus then went to Constantinople to hand over some prisoners to the Byzantine emperor who granted Beatus the title of *ypatus*.<sup>38</sup> Civitas Nova-Heracliana was again destroyed during this

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Verum postquam domnus Fortunatus Christofori episcopi sedem a Iohanne diacono iniuste usurpatam didicit, prorsus doluit, et tractare studiosissime cepit qualiter sibi faveret ut eum ad propriam sedem restituere posset. Iohannes siquidem predictus diaconus quadam die cum incautus iret, a Fortunato patriarcha captus et diu detentus est. Sed ubi excogitaret quid de illo agere deberet, nocte fuga lapsus evasit et instanter Obellierium ducem adivit. Cui cum ea que passus a Fortunato fuerat ordine recitaret, potius ducis animum adversus eundem patriarcham in odium quam antea esset excitavit. Tamen, consulente patriarcha, Christoforus sedem suam tandem recepit; Iohannes vero diaconus reversus est ad propriam domum. Igitur Fortunatus patriarcha, cum per aliquanta temporum spacia exsul a propria sede maneret, Gradensem disposuit reciprocare urbem.'

<sup>34</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Tunc hisdem Obellierius audacter Veneciam intravit. Qui cum devote et honorifice a populo susceptus esset, suum fratrem, videlicet Beatum nomine, dignitate fecit sibi socium.'

<sup>35</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Deinde Obellierius et Beatus duces Valentinum, tertium illorum fratrem, in dignitate sui ducatus habere consortem voluerunt.'

<sup>36</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Hac etiam tempestate Civitas nova, que vocatur Eracliana, a Veneticis destructa est. Deinde predicti duces navalem exercitum ad Dalmaciarum provinciam depopulandam destinaverunt.' John the Deacon does not explain why, but this probably happened because the inhabitants of Civitas Nova-Heracliana opposed the new duke.

<sup>37</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 806, pp. 120–21: 'Statim post natalem Domini venerunt Willeri et Beatus duces Venetiae necnon et Paulus dux Iaderae atque Donatus eiusdem civitatis episcopus legati Dalmatarum ad praesentiam imperatoris cum magnis donis. Et facta est ibi ordinatione ab imperatore de ducibus et populis tam Venetiae quam Dalmatiae.'

<sup>38</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Obellierius siquidem dux per Nicetam patricium spatharii honorem suscepit. Beatus vero, frater eius, cum predicto Niceta Constantinopolim ivit secumque deferens Veneticorum obsides et Christoforum episcopum et Felicem tribunum, quos augustus exilio dampnavit ... Tunc Beatus dux, qui cum Niceta patricio Constantinopolim ivit, in Veneciam reversus, ab imperatore honore ypati condecoratus est.'

period<sup>39</sup> probably as the result of the fighting between different Venetian factions. The Venetians deposed Obellierius and Beatus after the attempt of King Pippin, Charlemagne's son, to take possession of Venice in 810 and the arrival of a Byzantine fleet to the Venetian duchy.<sup>40</sup> Obellierius escaped to Charlemagne's court, but the emperor decided to send him back to the Byzantines.<sup>41</sup> Both Obellierius and Beatus were sent into exile: the former to Constantinople and the latter to Zara/Zadar. Obellierius's rule lasted five years.<sup>42</sup> Around 829, Obellierius returned to Venice from his exile<sup>43</sup> and took refuge in the town of Vigilia. His arrival provoked the revolt of the people of Metamauco. Duke Iohannes II subjugated the rebels, captured Vigilia, and had Obellierius beheaded.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Eodem quoque tempore civitas Eracliana a Veneticis iterum devastata et igne combusta est'.

<sup>40</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 27: 'Interea foedus quod Veneticorum populus olim cum Italico rege habebat, illo tempore, Pipino agente rege, disruptum est et hisdem rex ingentem exercitum Longobardorum ad Veneticorum provinciam capiendam promovit. Qui cum magna difficultate portus, qui dividunt insularum littora, pertransisset, tandem ad quendam locum, qui Albiola vocatur, pervenit. Nulla ratione in antea pertendere gressum valuit, ibique duces, stipati magna Veneticorum expedicione, eundem regem audacter aggressi sunt et divinitus datum est Veneticis de inimicis triumphum, sicque predictus rex confusus recessit'. The Frankish annals report that Pippin attacked Venice because of the 'perfidia' of the Venetian dukes, who prevented the Franks and the Byzantines from reaching a peace agreement, and that Charlemagne's son was able to subject the Venetian duchy. *Annales regni Francorum*, anni 809, 810, pp. 127, 130: 'Dux autem, qui classi praeerat, nomine Paulus, cum de pace inter Francos et Grecos constituenda, quasi sibi hoc esset iniunctum apud domnum Pippinum Italiae ducibus omnes inchoatus eius impredientibus atque ipsi etiam insidias parantibus, cognita illorum fraude discessit ... Interea Pippinus rex, perfidia ducum Veneticorum incitatus, Venetiam bello terraque marique iussit appetere: subiectaque Venetia ac ducibus eius in deditionem acceptis, eandem classem ad Dalmatiae litora vastanda misit. Sed cum Paulus Cefaloniae praefectus cum orientali classe ad auxilium Dalmatis ferendum adventaret, regia classis ad propria regreditur'.

<sup>41</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 811, pp. 133–34: 'Willeri dux Veneticorum ... propter perfidiam honore spoliatus Constantinopolim ad dominum suum duci iubetur'.

<sup>42</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 29: 'Hac quidem tempestate nuntius Constantinopolitanus, nomine Ebersapius, Venetiam adivit et Veneticorum consilio et virtute hoc peregit, ut utrique duces et dignitatem et patriam amitterent; unus, id est Obelieri, Constantinopolim, alter vero lateram petiit. Qui quinque annorum spacio Veneticorum ducatum gubernaverunt'.

<sup>43</sup> It is believed that Obellierius's return occurred when Duke Iohannes succeeded his brother Iustinianus. Ortalli, 'Il ducato', p. 736.

<sup>44</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 41: 'Interea Obellierius, qui apud Constantinopolim exilio fuerat dampnatus, Venetiam reciprocavit et in Vigilia civitate apud Curiculum sese retrusit. Quo audito, Iohannes dux ad eundem capiendum promovit exercitum. Sed cum diu predictam civitatem

### 15. Agnellus (810/811–827/828)

*Dux.* Agnellus had two sons, Iustinianus and Iohannes. He was the first duke to be elected at Rivoalto and had the Ducal Palace built in the place where it currently stands. During his rule, the Venetians decided to elect two tribunes every year.<sup>45</sup> He nominated Iohannes as co-ruler while Iustinianus was in Constantinople, where he was awarded the title of *ypatus*. When Iustinianus went back to Venice, he felt deeply disappointed by his father's decision and refused to see him. Agnellus then changed his mind, deposed Iohannes, and appointed Iustinianus as co-ruler. He later raised Iustinianus's son, Agnellus, to the same rank.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile Iohannes, who had been exiled to Zara/Zadar, fled to Sclavenia and then to Bergamo. At Agnellus's request, Emperor Louis the Pious gave Iohannes to Agnellus, who sent his son into exile in Constantinople.<sup>47</sup> Agnellus decided to depose Patriarch Fortunatus II as a result of his Francophile attitude, and to install in his place Iohannes, the Abbot of St Servolo.<sup>48</sup> In 819,

obsidione circumvallaret, tandem diviso exercitu, Metamaucenses ad predictum Obelierium confugium fecerunt. Exercitus vero, qui suo seniori fidem servabant, Metamaucensem insulam expugnantes prorsus incenderunt. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux iterum preparavit exercitum cum quo ipse veniens Vigiliam civitatem expugnavit et, capto Obelierio, decolare eum iussit. Cuius caput ad Metamaucensem insulam delatum in sabbati Sancti die iuxta sancti Martini marginem suspensum est.

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 29: 'Deinde cum essent anni ab incarnatione Domini [...] apud Rivoaltensem insulam Venetici communi decreto ducatus sedem habere maluerunt et ad hunc honorem quendam virum, Agnellum nomine, qui palatii hucusque manentis fuerat fabricator, sublimarunt. Sub dignitate etiam cuius duos tribunos per singulos annos fieri constituerunt.'

<sup>46</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos, unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit; alterum vero, id est Iohannes, ducem fieri promovit. Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Constantinopoli ad propriam repedavit. Dolens fratrem suum in honore fastigiatum, contempsit adire palatium, sed in sancti Severi ecclesia una cum sua coniuge hospitatus est. Pater namque eius non diu filii molestationem et absentiam passus fuit, quoniam valde illum diligebat, interdixit honorem Iohanni et, expulso a patria, apud lateram civitatem exilio reclusus est. Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus.'

<sup>47</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Unde factum est ut Iohannes, qui apud lateram exulabat, fuga lapsus, primum Sclaveniam, deinde ad Italiam, ad Bergami civitatem, pervenit. Interea pater et frater, hoc audientes, miserunt nuncios imperatori Lodovico efflagitantes, ut sibi redderet filium fuga lapsum. Imperator vero, libenter illorum precibus optemperans, reddidit sibi fugitivum, quem absque mora Constantinopolim una cum uxore destinaverunt.'

<sup>48</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Fortunatus quidem patriarcha, cum non sedule in sua

Agnellus and his son, Iustinianus, donated to the abbot an estate where the monastery of St Hilarius was later built.<sup>49</sup> A group of Venetians organized a conspiracy to overthrow Agnellus, yet their plan failed.<sup>50</sup> Agnellus died after governing for eighteen years and Iustinianus succeeded him.<sup>51</sup>

## 16. Iustinianus (827/828–829)

*Dux; ypatus.* He was the son of Duke Agnellus and had a wife, Felicitas,<sup>52</sup> and a son, Agnellus, whose death preceded his own;<sup>53</sup> his daughter-in-law was named Romana.<sup>54</sup> At the beginning of his father's rule, Iustinianus went to Constantinople, where he was awarded the title of *ypatus*. Meanwhile, Duke Agnellus appointed his other son, Iohannes, as co-ruler. When Iustinianus went back to Venice, he felt deeply disappointed by his father's decision and refused to see him. Agnellus then changed his mind, deposing Iohannes and nominating Iustinianus as co-ruler. He subsequently raised Iustinianus's son, Agnellus, to the same rank.<sup>55</sup> Iustinianus became duke after Agnellus's death, and nomi-

vellet degere sede, sed contra Veneticorum voluntatem sepiissime Franciam repetebat et, quia hoc amodo ducibus displicebat, pepulerunt illum a sede et in loco eius ordinauerunt Iohannem, Sancti Servuli abbatem.

<sup>49</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1.

<sup>50</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 35: 'Eo quoque tempore quidam Veneticorum conspirationem adversum duces facere conati sunt, ex quibus duo prope sancti Gregorii ecclesiam suspensi sunt, id est Iohannes Tornaricus et Bonus Bradanisso. Iohannes autem Monetarius fuga lapsus est ad Lotharium regem; tamen quicquid habuit et domus et fortuna depopulata sunt.'

<sup>51</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 37: 'Anno quidem incarnationis Domini octingentesimo vigesimo secundo, mortuo Agnello duce, qui decem et octo annis Veneticorum ducatum gubernavit, ducatus dignitas in suo filio Iustiniano remansit.'

<sup>52</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 19: 'Vos vero Felicitate, uxore mea ... heredes michi instituo, heredesque meas esse volo in mea hac pro filii mei hereditatem in ternas uncias principales in integro ...'

<sup>53</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Agnellus vero predictus dux legationis causa suum nepotem et aequivocum Constantinopolim misit ibique mortuus fuit.'

<sup>54</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 19: 'Vos vero ... et Romana nurem meam heredes michi instituo, heredesque meas esse volo in mea hac pro filii mei hereditatem in ternas uncias principales in integro ...'

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos, unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit; alterum vero, id est Iohannes, ducem fieri promovit. Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Constantinopoli ad propriam repedavit. Dolens fratrem suum in honore fastigiatum, contempsit adire palatium, sed in sancti

nated his brother, Iohannes, who had returned from exile in Constantinople, as co-ruler.<sup>56</sup> In 819, Iustinianus and his father Agnellus donated an estate, where the monastery of St Hilarius was later built, to the abbot of St Servolo.<sup>57</sup> At the request of the Byzantines, Iustinianus twice sent a fleet to Sicily against the Muslims. Both of the campaigns were unsuccessful.<sup>58</sup> This duke's willingness to comply with Constantinople's policy seems also suggested by the fact that he extended to the Venetians the imperial prohibition to trade with Egypt that was under Muslim rule on that period.<sup>59</sup> His will proves that Iustinianus, besides being involved in mercantile activities, was also a great landowner.<sup>60</sup> During his rule, two Venetian merchants smuggled the relics of St Mark out of Alexandria and brought them to Venice.<sup>61</sup> Iustinianus decreed that a church be built to house the remains of the saint. Following his death, the church of St Mark was erected during his brother's rule.<sup>62</sup> Iustinianus also ordered the

Severi ecclesia una cum sua coniuge hospitatus est. Pater namque eius non diu filii molestationem et absentiam passus fuit, quoniam valde illum diligebat, interdixit honorem Iohanni et, expulso a patria, apud lateram civitatem exilio retrusus est. Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus'.

<sup>56</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 38: 'Eodem quoque tempore Iohannes, Agnelli antedicti ducis filius et Iustiniani frater, qui exul apud Constantinopolim extitit, ad Venetiam reversus est et, favente sibi Iustiniano fratre, dux effectus est'.

<sup>57</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 38: 'Hac etiam tempestate Michahel imperator, mittens exercitum ad Sciciliam, Veneticorum auxilium petiit. Cui Iustinianus dux quasdam bellicosas naves transmittere studuit, sed uterque exercitus minime aliquod triumphum consequi valuit ... Iterum imperatore efflagitante, exercitum ad Sciciliam preparaverunt, qui etiam reversus est absque triumpho'.

<sup>59</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, VIII. 1–2, p. 52: 'Igitur Saraceni cum universam Aegyptum et Alexandriam invasissent, Leo deinde Romanum adeptus imperium, per diversas partes imperii sui iussit ut nullus omnino ad terram Aegypti negotii causa pertingeret. Cuius videlicet iussio, dum circumquaque pervolitans Veneticis quoque delata fuisset, Iustinianus, qui eo tempore dux Venetiae erat, imperatoris sui statuta confirmans id ipsum omnimodo suis praecepit'. Given that this source mentions Emperor Leo V (813–820), this decree was probably issued when Iustinianus was co-ruler of his father Agnellus.

<sup>60</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2.

<sup>61</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, pp. 112–29.

<sup>62</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, XVI. 6, p. 63: 'At vero Iustinianus dux, cum supra beatum corpus ecclesiam vellet construere, morte praeventus est. Cuius germanus Iohannes, vir Deo dilectus, ducatum suscipiens vicem eius explevit'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Ultimo vero vitae suae anno sanctissimi Marci evangelistae corpus, de Alexandria a Veneticis allatum, recipere

construction of two monasteries: St Zacharias and St Hilarius.<sup>63</sup> He was co-ruler for seventeen years, while his own rule lasted only a year. His brother, Iohannes, succeeded him.<sup>64</sup>

### 17. Iohannes II / Iohanaci (829–833/834, 835–836)

*Dux; senator?*. He was Duke Agnellus's son and Duke Iustinianus's brother. His father nominated him as co-ruler, but later changed his mind, deposed Iohannes, and replaced him with his brother, Iustinianus.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, Iohannes, who had been exiled to Zara/Zadar, fled to Sclavenia and then to Bergamo. At Agnellus's request, Emperor Louis the Pious returned Iohannes to Agnellus, who then exiled him to Constantinople.<sup>66</sup> Iohannes went back to Venice in 828/829 and the Duke of Venice, his brother Iustinianus, appointed him as co-ruler.<sup>67</sup> Iohannes, who subscribed his brother's will, in

promeruit. Qui tanti thesauri munus honorifice suscipiens, in sui palatii angulo peragere fecit capellam ubi illum reconditum posset reservari; interim ecclesia esset expleta quam hisdem domnus inchoavit, sed preventus morte, Iohannes, suus videlicet frater, ad finem perduxit.

<sup>63</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Fuerat namque predictus Iustinianus maximus ecclesiarum cultor, sancti vero Zachariae et sancti Hyllarii monasteriorum ipse extitit devotissimus fabricator'.

<sup>64</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Mortuo quidem Iustiniano duce, qui una cum patre gubernavit ducatum annis decem et septem et post mortem patris unius anni spacio, dignitas in suo fratre remansit'.

<sup>65</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos, unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit; alterum vero, id est Iohannes, ducem fieri promovit. Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Constantinopoli ad propriam repedavit. Dolens fratrem suum in honore fastigiatum, contempsit adire palatium, sed in sancti Severi ecclesia una cum sua coniuge hospitatus est. Pater namque eius non diu filii molestationem et absentiam passus fuit, quoniam valde illum diligebat, interdixit honorem Iohanni et, expulso a patria, apud Lateram civitatem exilio retrusus est. Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus'.

<sup>66</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Unde factum est ut Iohannes, qui apud Lateram exulabat, fuga lapsus, primum Sclaveniam, deinde ad Italiam, ad Bergami civitatem, pervenit. Interea pater et frater, hoc audientes, miserunt nuncios imperatori Lodovico efflagitantes, ut sibi redderet filium fuga lapsum. Imperator vero, libenter illorum precibus optemperans, reddidit sibi fugitivum, quem absque mora Constantinopolim una cum uxore destinaverunt'.

<sup>67</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 38: 'Eodem quoque tempore Iohannes, Agnelli antedicti ducis filius et Iustiniani frater, qui exul apud Constantinopolim extitit, ad Venetiam reversus est et, favente sibi Iustiniano fratre, dux effectus est'.

which he is also called Iohanaci and is defined as *senator* (probably a mistake for *senior*),<sup>68</sup> became duke upon the death of Iustinianus.<sup>69</sup> At the beginning of his rule, Iohannes received and made peace with a Slavic ambassador from the island of Narenta/Neretva, for whom he stood as godfather. Yet the peace did not last for long,<sup>70</sup> and the Narentans killed several Venetian merchants a few years later.<sup>71</sup> He had the Basilica of St Mark, which held the saint's relics, constructed and had it built imitating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem that he had personally seen. St Mark was not, however, erected where Iohannes's brother, Duke Iustinianus, had ordered — i.e. near the monastery of St Zacharias —, but near the ducal palace.<sup>72</sup> Iohannes had to confront various insurrections and conspiracies during his rule. Probably around 829, a former Duke of Venice, Obellierius, returned from his exile and took refuge in the city of Vigilia. His arrival provoked the revolt of the inhabitants of Metamauco against Iohannes, who quickly had the rebellion crushed and Obellierius beheaded.<sup>73</sup> Later, several Venetians, led by Tribune Carosus,

<sup>68</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: '† Iohanaci. Id est Iohannes senator et germanus domni Iustiniani ipati ex precepto \*\*\*\*\*'. The suggestion to correct *senator* into *senior* is in *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 53, p. 99. Antonio Carile, on the other hand, believes that this is a title. Carile, 'Venezia e Bisanzio', p. 650.

<sup>69</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Mortuo quidem Iustiniano duce, qui una cum patre gubernavit ducatum annis decem et septem et post mortem patris unius anni spacio, dignitas in suo fratre remansit'.

<sup>70</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 40: 'Circa haec tempora missus Sclavorum de insula Narrentis, ad domnum Iohannem ducem veniens, ab eo baptizatus est, pacem cum eo instituens, licet minime perdurasset'.

<sup>71</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 46: 'Circa hoc tempore Venetici negotii causa dum de Benevento revertabantur, a Narrentanis Sclavis capti, pene omnes interfecti sunt'.

<sup>72</sup> *Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias*, XVI. 6, p. 63: 'At vero Iustinianus dux, cum supra beatum corpus ecclesiam vellet construere, morte praeventus est. Cuius germanus Iohannes, vir Deo dilectus, ducatum suscipiens vicem eius explevit. Construxit namque iuxta palatium elegantissimae formae basilicam, ad eam similitudinem, quam supra Domini tumulum Hierosolymis viderat'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39. 47: 'Ultimo vero vitae suae (*Iustinianus*) anno sanctissimi Marci evangelistae corpus, de Alexandria a Veneticis allatum, recipere promeruit. Qui tanti thesauri munus honorifice suscipiens, in sui palatii angulo peragere fecit capellam ubi illum reconditum posset reservari; interim ecclesia esset expleta quam hisdem domnus inchoavit, sed preventus morte, Iohannes, suus videlicet frater, ad finem perduxit ... Isdem vero domnus Iohannes dux sanctissimi Marci evangeliste ecclesiam consecrari et digne beatum corpus in eadem collocare procuravit'. *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 23: 'hedificet basilicam ad suum honorem infra territorio Sancti Zacharie'.

<sup>73</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 41: 'Interea Obellierius, qui apud Constantinopolim exilio fuerat

deposed Iohannes. He subsequently fled to Francia. A year later, some Venetians deposed, blinded, and sent Carosus, who had proclaimed himself duke, into exile. The Bishop of Olivolo, Ursus, and Tribunes Felix and Basilius, governed Venice for a year, after which Iohannes returned from exile and was reinstated as duke.<sup>74</sup> Members of a Venetian family, the Mastalici, overthrew Iohannes shortly afterwards and forced him to become a cleric at Grado.<sup>75</sup> Iohannes governed for seven years.<sup>76</sup>

## 18. Carosus (829, 834/835)

*Tribunus; dux.* Tribune Carosus deposed Duke Iohannes II in 834/835 and ruled as duke for a year. A group of Venetians then overthrew and blinded him,

dampnatus, Veneciam reciprocavit et in Vigilia civitate apud Curiculum sese retrusit. Quo audito, Iohannes dux ad eundem capiendum promovit exercitum. Sed cum diu predictam civitatem obsidione circumvallaret, tandem diviso exercitu, Metamaucenses ad predictum Obelierium confugium fecerunt. Exercitus vero, qui suo seniori fidem servabant, Metamaucensem insulam expugnantes prorsus incenderunt. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux iterum preparavit exercitum cum quo ipse veniens Vigiliam civitatem expugnavit et, capto Obelierio, decolare eum iussit. Cuius caput ad Metamaucensem insulam delatum in sabbati Sancti die iuxta sancti Martini marginem suspensum est.

<sup>74</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Interea quidam Veneticorum, id est Carosus tribunus et Victor nonnullique alii, facta conspiratione, Iohannem ducem, a Venecia pepulerunt et Carosus hanc usurpavit dignitatem. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux in Franciam ad Carolum regem ivit, qui eum devote suscipiens, honorem et solatium sibi inpendere procuravit. Sequenti vero anno Basilius tribunus et Iohannes Marturius et ceteri nobiliorum numero triginta, predicti Iohannis ducis fidelitate a patria exientes, in sancti Martini ecclesia, que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strada scita est, ospitati et tam diu commorati sunt, donec Veneticorum multitudo ad illos conveniret, ut in Veneciam ad Carosi ducis periculum intrare sine aliquo obstaculo quivissent. Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio retrusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt. Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux de Frantia in sancti Dimitrii festivitate reversus est. Quem Venetici promte suscipientes, ducatum sibi restituere satagerunt.'

<sup>75</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 48: 'Preterea quidam Veneticorum, cognomento Mastallici, diabolica suggestione decepti, eundem Iohannem sancti Petri de ecclesia in eiusdem festivitate venientem comprehendentes, detonsa barba cum capillis, clericum apud Gradensem urbem consecrare fecerunt, qui ibi perstitit interim diem ultimum vixit.'

<sup>76</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 48: 'Prefuit autem Veneticorum populo septem annorum spacio.'

and sent him into exile.<sup>77</sup> He was likely the same *tribunus* Carosus who witnessed Duke Iustinianus's will in 829. In this document, it is said that Carosus is the son of *tribunus* Boniçus.<sup>78</sup>

### 19. Petrus (836–864)

*Dux; spatharius*. Shortly after his election, Petrus nominated his son Iohannes as co-ruler.<sup>79</sup> Iohannes led two expeditions against the Slavs in 839. He was able to make a peace agreement with the Slavic Prince, Muisclavus, and the *iudex Marianorum*, Drosaicus, during the first expedition, while in the second, the Slavs, commanded by Diuditus, vanquished him.<sup>80</sup> The Venetians suffered a more serious defeat in 840/841, when, at the request of the Byzantines, Petrus sent a fleet against the Muslims of Taranto.<sup>81</sup> The Saracens profited from

<sup>77</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Interea quidam Veneticorum, id est Carosus tribunus et Victor nonnullique alii, facta conspiratione, Iohannem ducem, a Venecia pepulerunt et Carosus hanc usurpavit dignitatem. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux in Franciam ad Carolum regem ivit, qui eum devote suscipiens, honorem et solatium sibi impendere procuravit. Sequenti vero anno Basilius tribunus et Iohannes Marturius et ceteri nobiliorum numero triginta, predicti Iohannis ducis fidelitate a patria exientes, in sancti Martini ecclesia, que apud Mistrinam loco qui vocatur Strada scita est, ospitati et tam diu commorati sunt, donec Veneticorum multitudo ad illos conveniret, ut in Veneciam ad Carosi ducis periculum intrare sine aliquo obstaculo quivissent. Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio reclusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt. Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur. Tunc domnus Iohannes dux de Frantia in sancti Dimitrii festivitate reversus est. Quem Venetici promte suscipientes, ducatum sibi restituere satagerunt'.

<sup>78</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: 'Carosus tribunus filius Boniço tribuno et primato'.

<sup>79</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 49: 'Cui successit quidam nobilissimus, Petrus nomine, qui Iohannem suum filium consortem in honore habere voluit'.

<sup>80</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 49: 'Iste namque tercio sui ducatus anno Sclaveniam bellicosis navibus expugnaturum adivit. Sed ubi ad locum qui vocatur sancti Martini curtis perveniret, pacem cum illorum principe Muisclavo nomine firmavit. Deinde pertransiens ad Narrantanas insulas cum Drosaico, Marianorum iudice, similiter fedus instituit, licet minime valeret et sic postmodum ad Veneciam reversus est. Ubi diu commorari eum minime licuit. Sed denuo preparavit exercitum adversum Diuditum Sclavum ubi plus quam centum Veneticis interfecti fuerunt et absque triumpho reversus est'.

<sup>81</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 50: 'Tunc in mense madii sexta hora diei sol obscuratus est, et factus est eclipsis. Hac denique tempestate Theodosius patricius Constantinopoli ad Veneciam

their victory by carrying out raids along the Adriatic Sea, during which they captured several Venetian ships and overcame a Venetian fleet off Sansego.<sup>82</sup> The Slavs sacked Caorle during this period.<sup>83</sup> These defeats probably motivated Petrus and his son Iohannes to order the construction of two large warships.<sup>84</sup> Around 840, Petrus received a visit from the Byzantine Patrician, Theodosius, who granted him the office of *spatharius* and requested that the Venetians send a fleet against the Saracens of Taranto.<sup>85</sup> In 840, Petrus made a pact with Emperor Lothar in which they regulated relations between the Empire and the Duchy of Venice and drew up a pact of reciprocal assistance.<sup>86</sup> The properties that the Venetians possessed in the Italian Kingdom were confirmed in acknowledgement of the friendly relations established between Lothar and Duke Petrus.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, a Venetian fleet took part in the expedition that the Emperor organized against the Saracens following their 846 sack of Rome.<sup>88</sup>

veniens, spatharii honoris investituram Petro contulit duci, integroque anno ibi commoratus est, ex inperatoris parte eundem ducem efflagitans, ut expeditionem Sarracenos ad expugnandos sibi adtribuere non recusaret; quod libenter dux facere non denegavit. Tunc praeparare sexaginta bellicosas naves omni sub festinatione studuit et usque ad Tarantum, ubi Saba Saracenorum princeps cum maximo exercitu manebat, easdem destinavit. Sed a Saracenorum multitudine pene omnes Venetici capti et interfecti sunt’.

<sup>82</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 51: ‘Deinde vastum per mare huc illuc navigantes, Adrianensem portum, qui vicinus Venecie subsistit, applicuere, ubi cum sortis industria se illic nullam predam capturos proevdidissent, reddeundi iter ad propriam arripuerunt. Postquam vero ad exitum Adriatici culti pervenerunt, naves Veneticorum, que de Sicilia seu de aliis partibus revertebantur, omnes ab eisdem comprehense sunt. In secundo vero anno iterum predicti Sarraceni maximo cum exercitu usque ad Quarnarii cultum pervenerunt; quos Venetici navali expeditione aggredientes, acriter iusta locum, qui Sansagus nominatur, supra eosdem irruerunt, sed demum Venetici dantes terga victi regressi sunt’.

<sup>83</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 51: ‘Circa haec tempora Sclavi venientes ad Veneticorum loca expugnanda, Caprulensem tantummodo castrum depredaverunt’.

<sup>84</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 55: ‘Illud etiam non est pretermittendum quod antedicti duces ad sua tuenda loca eo tempore duas bellicosas naves tales perficere studuerunt quales nunquam apud Veneciam antea fuit, que greca lingua zalandriae dicuntur’.

<sup>85</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 50: ‘Tunc in mense madii sexta hora diei sol obscuratus est, et factus est eclipsis. Hac denique tempestate Theodosius patricius Constantinopoli ad Veneciam veniens, spatharii honoris investituram Petro contulit duci, integroque anno ibi commoratus est, ex inperatoris parte eundem ducem efflagitans, ut expeditionem Sarracenos ad expugnandos sibi adtribuere non recusaret’.

<sup>86</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 55, pp. 101–08.

<sup>87</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 56, pp. 108–10.

<sup>88</sup> *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, no. 203, p. 67, chapter 12.

The amicable relations were further maintained by Lothar's son, Louis II, who met Petrus and his son Iohannes in the monastery of St Michael at Brondolo. On that occasion, Louis II stood as godfather for Iohannes's child.<sup>89</sup> In 856, Louis II renewed the pact first established between Petrus and Lothar. It is unknown whether this took place before or after the meeting at Brondolo.<sup>90</sup> The Duke signed the will of the Bishop of Olivolo, Ursus, in 853. In this document, he is referred to as *imperialis consul* (probably a mistake made by a copyist).<sup>91</sup> A group of Venetians killed Petrus in 864 as he was leaving the monastery of St Zacharias. The nuns buried him in the atrium of St Zacharias's church.<sup>92</sup> His son, Iohannes, had died the year before.<sup>93</sup> John the Deacon's chronicle leaves gaps concerning when Iohannes passed away and for how many years Petrus remained in office. The oldest extant ducal list reports that his rule lasted twenty-nine years.<sup>94</sup>

## 20. Ursus II (864–881)

*Dux; protospatharius.* Ursus II had four sons: Iohannes, whom he had nominated as co-ruler,<sup>95</sup> Badovarius, Ursus, and Petrus.<sup>96</sup> One of Ursus's daughters,

<sup>89</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 57: 'Anno quidem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ab incarnatione [...] Lodovicus Longobardorum rex una cum congunge sua ad locum, qui Brundulus vocatur, veniens, apud sancti Michaelis monasterium ab utroque duce honorifice susceptus est. Ubi cum triduo simul comanerent, ad dilectionis seu pacis vinculum corroborandum Iohannes dux suam de sacro baptismo sobolem regem promovit ut susciperet. Quo peracto, rex cum congunge Italian, duces vero ad pallacium reversi sunt.'

<sup>90</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 10: 'Signum manus domno excellentissimo Petro imperialis cosolis [*sic*] propria manum sua cum consensum populi Venecie pro proprio signum fecit'. On this, see Pozza, 'Il testamento del vescovo Orso', p. 56.

<sup>92</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Qui uno anno post filii funus, dum in sancti Zacharie monasterio diem celebraret festum, a pessimis hominibus, exiente eo peracto vespero de ecclesia, insons crudeliter interemptus est. Cuius corpus sanctae moniales in eiusdem ecclesie atrio sepellire studiose procuraverunt. Gubernavit autem Veneticorum populum [...] annorum spacio.'

<sup>93</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Interea cum essent anni ab incarnatione nostri Redemptoris [...] Iohannes dux diem finivit suppreum et ducatus in suo genitore solo remansit.'

<sup>94</sup> *Catalogo dei dogi*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, p. 177: 'Petrus dux ducavit annos .xxviii'.

<sup>95</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 14: 'Eo tempore domnus Ursus dux Iohannem filium suum in dignitate sibi consortem fecit.'

<sup>96</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: 'domnus Ursus dux, dum quattuor haberet filios, id est

Iohannia, was the abbess of St Zacharias.<sup>97</sup> The Duke gave another daughter, Felicia, in marriage to Rodoald, son of the Duke of Bologna, John.<sup>98</sup> Contrary to his predecessor, Ursus II obtained many victories. Immediately after his election, he led a fleet against the Slavic Prince, Domagoj, who preferred not to fight and instead made a peace treaty with the Venetians.<sup>99</sup> Duke Ursus II defeated the Slavs who were sacking Istria, and were probably planning to attack Grado, several years later.<sup>100</sup> After Domagoj died, Ursus II made peace with the Slavs. However, the longstanding conflict with the Narentans remained alive.<sup>101</sup> The Venetians also managed to beat the Saracens for the first time during Ursus II's rule. In the course of the Byzantine's joint campaign with Louis II against the Muslims of Apulia (867–871), the Venetian ships that Ursus II commanded were victorious at Taranto against a Saracen fleet.<sup>102</sup> The Muslims laid siege to Grado for two days in 875 without any result, after

Iohannem, Badovarium, Ursum et Petrum, omnes ducatus dignitate, praeter Badovarium, claruerunt'.

<sup>97</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'Iohannia siquidem abbatissa, domni Ursi duci filia, sancti Zacharię monasterium, iam pene consumptum vetustate, a fundamentis recreare studuit'.

<sup>98</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'suamque filiam, nomine Feliciam, Rodoaldo Iohannis ducis Bolonię filio in coniugium tradidit'.

<sup>99</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 2: 'Prelibatus quidem Ursus dux adversus Dommagoum Sclavorum principem cum navali expeditione properavit, sed cernente eo Veneticorum multitudinem proibuit pugnam, pacem requisivit. Deinde acceptis obsidibus dux ad Venetiam repedavit'.

<sup>100</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 14: 'Tunc Sclavorum pessime gentes et Dalmacianorum Ystriensem provinciam depredare ceperunt. Quattuor videlicet urbes ibidem devastaverunt, id est Umacus, Civitas nova, Sipiars atque Ruinius. Deinde nunciatum est domno Urso duci quod Gradensem ad urbem vellent transire; cum triginta navibus ad predictam civitatem venit. Inde pertransiens Istriam, audacter super eosdem Sclavos inruens, in tantum eosdem cede prostravit ut nemo illorum evadens, patriam valuit reverti. Quoniam hisdem princeps celitus victoriam consecutus, Sclavos, quos in hoc certamine ceperat, liberos dimisit ecclesiarumque res, quae sublatae in prelibata provincia fuerant, restituit sicque triumphali cum gloria palatium reddiit. Et propter hoc fedus quod inter Sclavos et Veneticos olim fuerat, disruptum est'.

<sup>101</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 16: 'Dehinc mortuo Domogoi Sclavorum pessimo duce, domnus Ursus dux et Iohannes suus filius cum Sclavis pacem et concordiam iniit; tamen adversus Narrentanos, cum quibus iurgium habebat, exercitum misit'.

<sup>102</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 5: 'Is diebus Ursoni Veneticorum duci nunciatum est quod exercitus Sarracenorum iusta Tarantum maneret. Tunc navibus bellicosis eosdem dimicatuos adivit cumque diu inter sese decertantes Sarraceni superati cecidissent, Venetici victores reversi sunt'.

which they retreated upon learning that Duke Ursus II had sent a fleet.<sup>103</sup> The only Venetian defeat reported as occurring in this period was modest. Near Salvore, the Slavs killed fourteen Venetians sent to search the Istrian coast in a small ship to investigate the Saracens' intentions.<sup>104</sup> In addition to secular entanglements, religious conflict dominated Ursus II's rule. The Duke clashed with the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, because he had excommunicated Dominicus, the new bishop of Torcello, against Ursus II's wishes.<sup>105</sup> The disagreement became so heated that Petrus abandoned Venice, fled to Istria<sup>106</sup> then Rome, where he requested the assistance of Pope John VIII.<sup>107</sup> Between

<sup>103</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 12: 'Circa hec tempora Sarraceni advenientes, Gradensem urbem capere conati sunt. Sed civibus fortiter decertantibus, Sarracenorum impietas non prevaluit. Tamen cum duobus predictam urbem diebus obsedissent, denunciatum est domno Urso duci, qui instanter Iohannem filium suum adversus eosdem cum navali exercitu misit. Quod dum Sarraceni sorte investigarent, protinus recedentes ab urbe, Cumacensem villam depopulati sunt'. The dates are deduced from the fact that it had taken place immediately before the Muslims sacked Comacchio, event occurred in 875.

<sup>104</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 7: 'Sequenti vero anno mense madii item Sarraceni a Creta insula egredientes, quasdam Dalmaciarum urbes depopulati sunt pariterque etiam Braciensem eiusdem provincie urbem invaserunt. Quod cum domno Urso duci denunciatum foret, parvam naviculam cum quattuordecim hominibus ad Istriam usque destinare sub festinatione studuit, quatenus Sarraceni ne forte Veneciam petere vellent, vel qualis eorum fortitudo subsisteret explorare deberent. Qui cum Gradensi de civitate Istriam petituri exissent, predones Sclavi, qui in portu Silvodis reclusi latitabant, supra eandem naviculam velociter irruerunt. Ubi cum uterque pars fortiter dimicaret multique Sclavorum percussi deficerent, novissime vero capta Veneticorum ab eisdem Sclavis navicula, omnes Venetici, qui intus erant, occisi sunt. Predicti autem Sarraceni, urbibus quas diximus devastatis, cum inestimabili preda ad propriam sunt reversi'.

<sup>105</sup> The patriarch excommunicated Dominicus because he had castrated himself, and therefore could not hold ecclesiastical offices.

<sup>106</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: 'Apud Torcellum quidem mortuo Senatore episcopo, qui Altinatis ecclesiam annis [...] gubernavit, subrogatus est in ea sede Dominicus abbas Altinatis monasterii, qui olim fuerat monachus Sancti Illarii et inde egressus, pro inposito crimine veretro sibi absiso, apud Spoletum postmodum aliquamdiu moratus est. Quem dum contra ducis decretum Petrus egregius patriarcha sub anathematis vinculo coartaret, eiusdem ducis amissa gratia egressus Istriensem peciit provinciam'.

<sup>107</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 13: 'Domnus vero Petrus patriarcha, relicta Gradensi urbe, Rivoaltum adveniens, apud sancti Iuliani sui patrimonii ecclesiam ospitatus, ibi per integrum annum commoratus est. Tamen perfectam cum duce pacem propter Torcellensem ellectum minime habebat. Tandem patriarcha duci resistere non valens, occulte de Venecia exivit Romamque adire disposuit. Quem domnus papa Iohannes devote suscipiens, integro anno secum morari cum coegit'.

876 and 877, the Pontiff wrote various letters to Ursus II and to the Venetian bishops asking that they obey the patriarch's orders.<sup>108</sup> Pope John VIII also invited the Venetian prelates to participate in a council at Ravenna to resolve this conflict. However, they arrived after the synod had already finished, and the Pope excommunicated them. Nevertheless, the excommunication was recanted through the intervention of Duke Ursus II.<sup>109</sup> The conflict was settled with the agreement that the patriarch would not consecrate Dominicus as bishop, but that the latter could reside in the house of the bishop of Torcello and enjoy the properties belonging to the Church of Torcello. That Patriarch Petrus then agreed to consecrate the bishops of Olivolo, Metamauco, and Civitas Nova-Heracliana indicates that the disagreement regarded the ecclesiastical order of the whole of the Duchy of Venice.<sup>110</sup> Upon Petrus's death, his successor, Victor, reluctantly agreed to consecrate Dominicus.<sup>111</sup> Ursus II was able to forge imperial relationships and contribute to Venice's infrastructure, despite the amount of energy and attention he expended dealing with his ene-

<sup>108</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 5–9, 11–13.

<sup>109</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 18: 'Petrus siquidem patriarcha, qui Romae fuerat, una cum Iohanne papa Ravennam adveniēns ibique septuaginta episcoporum sinodo congregata, duos episcopos Venetiae, id est Petrum Equilensem et Leonem Caprulensem et eos, qui erant in eadem provincia electos, ad eundem concilium convocavit, ut contentionis causam inter Ursonem ducem et patriarcham diligentissime determinaret. Sed dum episcopi cum electis tarde et expleta iam sinodo Ravennam venirent, communione a papa privati, duce tamen interpellante soluti sunt'.

<sup>110</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: 'Petrus vero patriarcham Papię reliquit. Qui ibi aliquantisper diebus manens, dehinc Tarvisium veniens, a Landonis ipsius civitatis episcopo dignissima veneratione susceptus est. Ubi cum legatis inter ipsum et predictum ducem euntibus tandem pax pristina consolidata esset, isdem egregius pontifex Veneciam repedavit et duce interpellante aliquantisper diebus in palacio mansit, ea vero ratione ut Dominicus presbyter Torcellensis ecclesię electus, pro quo inter eos discordia fuerat, diebus Petri patriarchę episcopali consecratione careret, in episcopii tamen domo manens, fruendi rebus ipsius ecclesię licentiam haberet. Qui post paucos dies cum gratiam apud conductum pontificem repperiret, eum in Torcellensi ecclesia ad convivium invitavit. Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravit, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis novę'.

<sup>111</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 23: 'Tunc Victor electus patriarcha octavo kalendas februarii consecratus est. Qui etiam Dominicum Torcellensem electum, contra voluntatem consecravit, quoniam in suae electionis die sacramento a principe constrictus est, ut qualem ipse illi electum dirigeret, talem ille consecraret. Dixit tamen sibi patriarcha: "Ve tibi! quia temere ad hunc accedis honorem. An nescis ubi dicitur: 'Si quis semetipsum abscederit, deiciatur a clero?'. Et ut coacte me hoc facere credas, in die iudicii pro hoc honore, nisi peniteas, rationem reddas, quia tibi ipse verendam amputare minime pepercisti'.

mies. Byzantine ambassadors granted Ursus II the title of *protospatharius* at an unknown date.<sup>112</sup> This happened before January 880, for Ursus II is first connected to this office in a document of that period.<sup>113</sup> In 880, Emperor Charles the Fat and Ursus II renewed the pact between Venice and the Empire.<sup>114</sup> Ursus II made a concurrent agreement with the Patriarch of Aquileia, Hualpertus, in which he promised not to close the port of Pilum if the patriarch would renounce his claim to jurisdiction over the Church of Grado. The payment of thirty pounds of gold was further promised to Hualpertus if he would permit the Venetians to trade freely in this port.<sup>115</sup> Ursus II sent twelve bells to Constantinople at the request of the Byzantine Emperor, Basil.<sup>116</sup> The Duke also ordered the building of a palace at Civitas Nova-Heracliana, had the eastern part of Rivoalto drained, made the island of Dorsoduro habitable,<sup>117</sup> and, with his son Iohannes, forbade the trading of slaves.<sup>118</sup> He ruled for seventeen years and was inhumed in the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>119</sup> His son, Iohannes, succeeded him.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>112</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'Eo videlicet tempore domnus Ursus dux ab imperialibus internunciis protospatharius effectus, donis amplissimis ditatus est'.

<sup>113</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 25: 'Ursus, divino fretus auxilium, imperialis prothospatarius'.

<sup>114</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 14.

<sup>115</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, pp. 25–27.

<sup>116</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 26: 'Domnus quidem Ursus dux, efflagitante Basilio imperatore, eo tempore duodecim campanas Constantinopolim misit; quas imperator in ecclesia noviter ab eo constructa posuit et ex tempore illo Greci campanas habere ceperunt'.

<sup>117</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 27: 'Ipse apud Civitatem novam Eraclianam palacium construere fecit. Temporibus cuius in Rivoalto etiam paludes cultandi homines licenciam habuerunt et domos edificandi contra orientem. Insulam namque que Dorsumdurum vocatur, consulente illo, composita fuerat. Gubernavit autem predictum honorem annis X et VII et mortuus est ac sepultus in sancti Zacharię monasterio'.

<sup>118</sup> This information comes from a document of 960 in which Duke Petrus Candianus IV prohibits the slave trade. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 70: 'Cum precedentibus temporibus in hac nostra provincia mancipiorum captivitas fieret a nostris, ob hoc peccatum multe tribulationes fierent et nobis evenirent, domnus Ursus, bonus dux, una cum Ioanne filio suo, hanc matitiam diluerent et statuerent ita ut, nullus ex nobis mancipia venderet'.

<sup>119</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 27: 'Gubernavit autem predictum honorem annis X et VII et mortuus est ac sepultus in sancti Zacharię monasterio'.

<sup>120</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 27: 'Mortuo vero hac tempestate domno Urso duce, dignitas in Iohanne suo filio remansit'.

## 21. Iohannes III (881–887)

*Dux.* Iohannes III was the son of Duke Ursus II, who had nominated him as his co-ruler (probably in the late 870s)<sup>121</sup> and upon whose death he succeeded as duke of Venice. During his term as co-ruler, he and his father forbade the trading of slaves.<sup>122</sup> Wishing to acquire Comacchio, Iohannes III sent his brother, Badovarius, to Rome, but the Venetian was wounded and captured by the Comacchiesi. Badovarius was then freed, but he died immediately afterwards, probably as a result of his reported wounds. Consequently, the duke sent a fleet against Comacchio, which the Venetians subdued. Iohannes also ordered his people to attack the inhabitants of Ravenna.<sup>123</sup> In a letter written in 886, Pope Stephen V accused Iohannes III of invading Comacchio and told the duke that he would never cede that city to him.<sup>124</sup> In 883, Emperor Charles the Fat confirmed the agreements made between the patriarch of Aquileia and Duke Ursus II.<sup>125</sup> Following an illness, Iohannes III chose his brother Petrus as his successor; after recovering his health, he gave the office of co-ruler to Petrus, who died shortly afterwards.<sup>126</sup> Iohannes III then appointed another of his brothers, Ursus, as co-ruler, but the latter voluntarily abdicated the office

<sup>121</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 14: 'Eo tempore domnus Ursus dux Iohannem filium suum in dignitate sibi consortem fecit'.

<sup>122</sup> This information comes from a document of 960 in which Duke Petrus Candianus IV prohibits the slave trade. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 70: 'Cum precedentibus temporibus in hac nostra provincia mancipiorum captivitas fieret a nostris, ob hoc peccatum multe tribulationes fierent et nobis evenirent, domnus Ursus, bonus dux, una cum Ioanne filio suo, hanc matitiam diluerent et statuerent ita ut, nullus ex nobis mancipia venderet'.

<sup>123</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 28: 'Iohannes vero dux Cumaclensem comitatum ex Romani pontificis largitate acquirere cupiens, Badovarium suum fratrem Romam direxit. Qui dum Ravennam adiret, Marinus Comaclensium comes super eum viros armatos misit et ibi vulneratus in crure captus est. Tunc predictus comes ne hanc iniuriam requireret, sacramento eum constrinxit atque dimisit; set reversus ad Veneciam, statim vitam finivit. Propter quam causam domnus Iohannes dux navali exercitu Cumaclensem castrum properans eiusdemque populum atquisivit et, ordinatis ibi secundum suum velle iudiciis, ad palacium reddiit et morte fratris ulciscenda Ravennates depredari iussit'.

<sup>124</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 18, p. 26.

<sup>125</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 16, pp. 21–24.

<sup>126</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 30: 'Domnus siquidem Iohannes dux, corporis infermitate detentus, Petrum minimum suum fratrem, populo adclamante, successorem sibi elegit. Quem postea, cum convalesceret, habere eum consortem voluit; ipse vero infirmitate correptus, non diu cum fratre manens, expiravit sepultusque fuit iuxta predictum Badovarium fratrem suum; qui non plus annorum quam viginti quinque fuerat'.

soon after. John the Deacon reports that, as a result of this renunciation and of a new illness that struck Duke Iohannes III, a group of Venetians elected Petrus Candianus as duke. Iohannes III accepted this choice and consigned the ducal *insignia* to his successor.<sup>127</sup> For his part, Petrus Candianus permitted Iohannes III and his brother, Ursus, to live peacefully in their house.<sup>128</sup> Petrus Candianus died in battle five months later,<sup>129</sup> and Iohannes III, in spite of being seriously ill, once more accepted control over the Duchy. But, shortly afterwards, he decided to abandon the office and gave the Venetians permission to elect a new duke.<sup>130</sup> He probably had a son, named Petrus, who is mentioned in a document dated to 880.<sup>131</sup> It is not known when Iohannes III died. In the course of his rule, he had the church of St Cornelius and St Ciprianus built at a place called *Vinea contra*.<sup>132</sup>

## 22. Petrus Candianus (887)

*Dux*; father of Duke Petrus Candianus II.<sup>133</sup> He succeeded Duke Iohannes III while the latter was still alive. The chronicler John the Deacon reports that some Venetians elected him because Iohannes III was gravely ill, and his brother Ursus did not want to become duke. The succession was peaceful because Iohannes III accepted the election of Petrus Candianus and consigned him the ducal *insignia*.<sup>134</sup> The new duke, for his part, allowed Iohannes and his brother

<sup>127</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31–32: ‘Prelibatus Iohannes dux alterum germanum suum, Ursum nomine, sibi consortem fecit ... Deinde cum domnus Iohannes dux adhuc infirmitate detentus, frater eius ducatum rennueret, Venetici ducem sibi constituerunt, Petrum videlicet, cognomento Candianum, infra domum ipsius, septima decima die mensis aprilis. Quem domnus Iohannes dux clementer ad palatium convocans, spatam fustemque ac sellam ei contradidit, eumque sibi successorem constituens, ad domum suam reversus est’.

<sup>128</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 33: ‘Suscepto itaque ducatu, Petrus dux cum domno Iohanne duce eiusque germano satis honorifice egit’.

<sup>129</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 33–34.

<sup>130</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 35: ‘Tunc domnus Iohannes dux, quamvis adhuc infirmus, deprecante populo, ad palatium rediit, sed diucius stare nolens, licentiam populo dedit ut constitueret sibi ducem quem vellet’.

<sup>131</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: ‘Signum manus Petri filii Ioannis ducis’.

<sup>132</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: ‘Domnus vero Iohannes dux sanctorum Cornelii et Cipriani ecclesiam a fundamentis in loco qui Vinea contra nominatur edificare fecit’.

<sup>133</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, pp. 52–53: ‘dominus Petrus, imperialis protospatrius et gloriosus Veneticorum dux, filius Petri ducis Candiano’.

<sup>134</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 32: ‘Deinde cum domnus Iohannes dux adhuc infirmitate

Ursus to live peacefully in their house.<sup>135</sup> Petrus Candianus was in office for only five months, as he died on the eighteenth of September while fighting against the Slavs at Macarsca. Tribune Andreas managed to retrieve the duke's body from the Slavs, which was buried in a church at Grado. He was forty-five years old.<sup>136</sup>

### 23. Petrus Tribunus (887–911)

*Dux; protospatrius.* After Petrus Candianus's death in battle, Iohannes III agreed to become duke once again. Shortly afterwards, however, he allowed the Venetians to elect another duke because of his poor health. The Venetians chose Petrus Tribunus, the son of Dominicus Tribunus and Agnella, Duke Petrus's (836–864) niece or granddaughter.<sup>137</sup> In 888, the King of Italy, Berengar, confirmed the pact between the Duchy of Venice and the Italian Kingdom.<sup>138</sup> King Guy then renewed it three years later when he took possession of the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>139</sup> During the rule of Petrus Tribunus, the

detentus, frater eius ducatum rennueret, Venetici ducem sibi constituerunt, Petrum videlicet, cognomento Candianum, infra domum ipsius, septima decima die mensis aprilis. Quem dominus Iohannes dux clementer ad palatium convocans, spatam fustemque ac sellam ei contradidit, eumque sibi successorem constituens, ad domum suam reversus est'.

<sup>135</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 33: 'Suscepto itaque ducatu, Petrus dux cum domno Iohanne duce eiusque germano satis honorifice egit'.

<sup>136</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 33–34: 'Contra Narrentanos Scavos confestim exercitum misit. Qui cum sine effectu reversus esset, tunc per semetipsum cum duodecim navibus mense augusto in mare hostiliter est egressus, et ad montem Scavorum perveniens in loco, qui vocatur Mucules, exivit, licet cum paucis, sed Sclavos sibi resistentes primum in fugam vertit multosque ex illis occidens, quinque naves illorum, que ibi erant, securibus fregit. Sed demum irruentibus Scavis, ibidem interfectus est cum aliis septem mense septembris die octavo decimo; ceteri vero incolomes reversi sunt. [34] Tenuit autem ducatum idem Petrus dux mensibus quinque. Fuit autem vir bellicosus et audax, sapiens et amodum largus; ecclesiam vero in tantum frequentans ut nullo tempore divino careret officio. Cuius corpus Andreas tribunus, latenter a Sclavis sublatum, Gradensem urbem misit ibique sepultus est in atrio ecclesiae. Fuit autem statura mediocris, annorum quadraginta quinque'.

<sup>137</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 35: 'Tunc dominus Iohannes dux, quamvis adhuc infirmus, deprecante populo, ad palatium rediit, sed diucius stare nolens, licentiam populo dedit ut constitueret sibi ducem quem vellet. Tunc omnes pariter eligerunt sibi Petrum, nobilem virum, filium Dominici Tribuni. Qui videlicet Petrus natus fuerat de Agnella neptia Petri superioris ducis, quem ad monasterium diximus interfectum'.

<sup>138</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 21, pp. 28–30.

<sup>139</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 22, pp. 30–32.

first Hungarian raid into Italy occurred. The Hungarians also managed to sack the inhabited centres of the Venetian Duchy that were near the coast. When they tried to take possession of Metamauco and Rivoalto, a Venetian fleet, led by Duke Petrus, defeated them.<sup>140</sup> It was probably as a result of this raid that Duke Petrus decided to have walls built that ran from Castello right up to St Maria Iubianico — the modern-day church of Santa Maria del Giglio. Moreover, he ordered that the mouth of the Grand Canal be blocked by a chain.<sup>141</sup> Following the destructions that the Hungarians wrought at the monastery of St Stephen of Altino, in 900, Petrus Tribunus granted the monastery exemption from paying tributes to the bishop of Torcello.<sup>142</sup> Around that same year, the duke was granted the title of *protospatrius*.<sup>143</sup> Petrus Tribunus ruled for twenty-three years and was inhumed in the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>144</sup>

## 24. Ursus Particiacus (911–931)

*Dux*. Shortly after his election, Ursus sent his son Petrus to Constantinople where Emperor Leo VI bestowed the title of *protospatrius* upon him.<sup>145</sup> During

<sup>140</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 37: ‘Sed ad Venecias introgressi cum aquis adque pelliciis navibus, primo Civitatem novam fugiente populo igne concremaverunt, deinde Equilum, Finem, Cloiam, Caputargelem incenderunt litoraue maris depopulaverunt. Verum etiam temptantes Rivoaltum et Metamaucum ingredi per loca que Albiola vocantur in die passionis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Paoli, tum domnus Petrus dux navali exercitu, Dei protectus auxilio, predictos Ungros in fugam vertit. Fuit namque hec persecucio in Italia et Venetia anno uno.’

<sup>141</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 39: ‘Circa hec vero tempora domnus Petrus dux una cum suis civitatem apud Rivoaltum edificare cepit anno sui ducatus nono, sicque Leo imperator protospatharii honorem sibi iniunxit. Predictae vero civitatis murus a capite rivuli de Castello usque ad ecclesiam sanctę Marię, que de Iubianico dicitur, extendebatur. Maximaque catena ferrea inibi composita erat, que uno capite in fine predicti muri, alio vero in sancti Gregorii ecclesie margine, quę trans ripam posita est, coherebat, ob hoc videlicet ne ulla navis penetrandi facultatem nisi dissoluta catena haberet.’

<sup>142</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, pp. 33–36.

<sup>143</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 39: ‘Circa hec vero tempora domnus Petrus dux una cum suis civitatem apud Rivoaltum edificare cepit anno sui ducatus nono, sicque Leo imperator protospatharii honorem sibi iniunxit’. Petrus Tribunus has this title in a document dated to 900. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 34: ‘nos Petro, Domino protegente, imperiali protospatrio et Veneticorum duce.’

<sup>144</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 39: ‘Vixit autem iam dictus Petrus dux in ducatu annis XX et tribus, et mortuus est sepultusque in sancti Zacharię monasterio.’

<sup>145</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: ‘Quem successit ad hanc regendam dignitatem domnus

the return voyage, Petrus was captured by the Duke of the Slavs, Michael, who sent him to the Bulgarian King, Simeon. Petrus was then freed following the concession of gifts to Simeon.<sup>146</sup> It has been hypothesized that in 919 Duke Ursus issued a sentence settling a dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello,<sup>147</sup> but it has been recently argued that document was forged at a later date.<sup>148</sup> In 925, the King of Italy, Rodulfus, confirmed the usual pact with Venice,<sup>149</sup> as did King Hugh in 927.<sup>150</sup> After having governed for twenty years, Ursus decided to abandon the ducal office and become a monk at St Felix where he died on an unknown date.<sup>151</sup>

## 25. Petrus Candianus II (931–939)

*Dux; protospatrius.* He was the son of Duke Petrus Candianus.<sup>152</sup> Shortly after his election, Petrus Candianus II was granted the title of *protospatrius*.<sup>153</sup> His son, Petrus, received the same title when he went to Constantinople in approxi-

Ursus, cognomento Particiacus, qui mox ut dux effectus est, suum filium, Petrum nomine, Constantinopolim ad Leonem imperatorem destinavit. Quem imperator cum honore suscipiens, protospatharium illum fecit ditatumque maximis donis ad propria redire permisit.

<sup>146</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: 'Qui dum Chroatorum fines rediens transire vellet, a Michahele Sclavorum duce fraude deceptus, omnibusque bonis privatus atque Vulgarico regi, Simeoni nomine, exilii pena transmissus est. Quem pater perditum acriter dolens, minime acquirere quivit, interim per suum internuncium, Dominicum videlicet Metamaucensem archidiaconem, qui postea episcopus effectus est, suis donis redimeret.'

<sup>147</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, pp. 43–47. Roberto Cessi thinks that a copyist mistakenly wrote on that document that the duke was named Iohannes. II, no. 31, pp. 43–44, n. 1.

<sup>148</sup> Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

<sup>149</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 32, pp. 47–49.

<sup>150</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 33, pp. 49–50.

<sup>151</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 43: 'Prelibatus itaque Ursus dux, dum ducatum annis gereret XX, iam senex effectus, terrena penitus parvi pendens coenobitalemque habitum in sancti Felicis monasterio devote suscipiens, ibi vitam finivit.'

<sup>152</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, pp. 52–53: 'dominus Petrus, imperialis protospatrius et gloriosus Veneticorum dux, filius Petri ducis Candiano.'

<sup>153</sup> Petrus Candianus II has this title in a document dated to 932. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, pp. 52–53: 'dominus Petrus, imperialis protospatrius et gloriosus Veneticorum dux.'

mately 934.<sup>154</sup> In a letter to the German king, Henry (919–936), the duke however defines himself as ‘imperialis consul et senator atque dux Veneticorum’.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps this was a way to translate the Byzantine title into Latin for a German audience. In 932 the inhabitants of Justinopolis (Capodistria/Koper) promised to pay a tribute to the duke of Venice every year for safe passage to the Duchy.<sup>156</sup> As a result of the disagreements and clashes between the Venetians and the Istrians over the possessions that Venetians held in Istria, Duke Petrus Candianus II prohibited his subjects from going to Istria and the Istrians from coming to Venice. In 933, in order to resolve this situation, the Istrian Margrave, Wintherus, promised that the properties of the Venetians in Istria would be respected, that the Istrians would not cause any harm to the Venetians, and that they would not impose taxes on the Venetians higher than those that others paid.<sup>157</sup> The inhabitants of Comacchio captured several Venetians at an unknown date. As a punishment, the duke sent an army to Comacchio that set fire to the city, killed a part of its inhabitants, and brought the survivors back to Venice where they were held until they swore to become subjects of the Venetians.<sup>158</sup> In a letter to the German King, Henry (919–936), Petrus Candianus II and Patriarch Marinus report that there had been a disagreement between the Jews and Christians in Jerusalem. The latter won the dispute and many Jews converted. The Byzantine emperor learned of this event and ordered the baptism of all Jews in his territory. The Venetians informed the German sovereign that a Jew from Jerusalem had gone to Germany where he was insulting the Christian religion. The duke and the patriarch invited Henry to follow the example of the Byzantine emperor and to drive all the Jews who refused to

<sup>154</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 46: ‘Antedictus vero Petrus Candianus dux suum dilectum equivocum filium Constantinopolim ad Constantinum et Romano imperatores transmisit; a quibus protospatharius effectus, cum maximis donis ad Veneciam rediit. Qui vero prelibatus dux post adventum filii non plus quam quinque annorum spacia vivens, ab hac luce subtractus est’.

<sup>155</sup> *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, pp. 157–58.

<sup>156</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, pp. 52–55.

<sup>157</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 36, pp. 55–59.

<sup>158</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 44: ‘Ubi dum Comaclensis insule homines quosdam Veneticos temere comprehendissent, ipse vero tanti dedecoris iniuriam non ferens, misso illuc exercitu, ipsorum castrum igne combussit quosdamque illorum interficiens, reliquos utriusque sexus ad Veneciam duxit. Ibique tam diu ipsos detinuit, donec sese sue dicioni sacramentorum fide subderent et ut proprii sibi deinceps in omnibus obtemperarent’.

convert to Christianity out of his kingdom.<sup>159</sup> Petrus Candianus II ruled for eight years.<sup>160</sup>

## 26. Petrus Badavarius Particiacus (939–942)

*Dux: protospatriarius.* He was the son of Duke Ursus Particiacus.<sup>161</sup> Shortly after his father's election, Petrus went to Constantinople, where Emperor Leo VI granted him the title of *protospatriarius*.<sup>162</sup> During the return voyage, the Duke of the Slavs, Michael, captured Petrus. Michael then sent him to the Bulgarian King, Simeon. Petrus was then freed following the concession of gifts to Simeon.<sup>163</sup> He governed for three years.<sup>164</sup>

## 27. Petrus Candianus III (942–959)

*Dux.* He was the son of Duke Petrus Candianus II.<sup>165</sup> His wife was Richelda.<sup>166</sup> The known children of this marriage are: Duke Petrus IV, Stephanus, Vitalis/

<sup>159</sup> *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, pp. 157–58: 'Heinrico sublimissimo regi ... Petrus Christi munere imperialis consul et senator atque dux Veneticorum una cum Marino venerabili patriarcha nostro ...'

<sup>160</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 46: 'Qui vero prelibatus dux post adventum filii non plus quam quinque annorum spacia vivens, ab hac luce subtractus est.'

<sup>161</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 46: 'Quem successit Petrus Ursonis ducis filius, is qui apud Vulgaricum regem fuerat exulatus.'

<sup>162</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: 'Quem successit ad hanc regendam dignitatem domnus Ursus, cognomento Particiacus, qui mox ut dux effectus est, suum filium, Petrum nomine, Constantinopolim ad Leonem imperatorem destinavit. Quem imperator cum honore suscipiens, protospatriarium illum fecit ditatumque maximis donis ad propria redire permisit.'

<sup>163</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: 'Qui dum Chroatorum fines rediens transire vellet, a Michahele Sclavorum duce fraude deceptus, omnibusque bonis privatus atque Vulgarico regi, Simeoni nomine, exilii pena transmissus est. Quem pater perditum acriter dolens, minime acquirere quivit, interim per suum internuncium, Dominicum videlicet Metamaucensem archidiaconem, qui postea episcopus effectus est, suis donis redimeret.'

<sup>164</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 2: 'His diebus mortuo Petro duce Badavario, qui rexerat ducatum annis tribus, successit Petrus Candianus antedicti Petri ducis filius.'

<sup>165</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 2: 'His diebus mortuo Petro duce Badavario, qui rexerat ducatum annis tribus, successit Petrus Candianus antedicti Petri ducis filius.'

<sup>166</sup> *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 7, p. 38: 'Ymelda filia Vitalis qui nominatur Ugo, qui fuit filius domni Petro duci Candianus ... que fuit de domno Petro duci Candianus et ipse eam largivit et ipse eam largivit ad suum hobitum a Richelde avie męę per suum testamentum. Et prefata avia mea eadem vinea largivit ad mater mea et ad fratribus meis.'

Hugo and Aichelda (or Richelda).<sup>167</sup> At the beginning of his rule, the relations between Venice and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Lupus, were very tense because troops of the latter had attacked Grado. The Patriarch of Grado, Marinus, was asked to intervene, and, in 948, a peace agreement was signed between Venice and Aquileia.<sup>168</sup> That same year, Petrus Candianus III sent a fleet of thirty-three ships against the Narentans. The Venetians did not obtain any results at first, but a second expedition resulted in a pact with the Slavs.<sup>169</sup> In 944, the duke bought the estates of Conche and Fogolana from Countess Anna, the widow of the Count of Reggio Emilia<sup>170</sup> and donated a saltwork to Petrus Çancani in 958.<sup>171</sup> Petrus Candianus III nominated his son Petrus as his co-ruler. The young Petrus had a disagreement with his father for unknown reasons. It is believed that the motive for the conflict must have been the young Petrus's desire for a greater involvement of the Venetian Duchy in the mainland. This divergence led to the formation of two factions that clashed in the square of Rivoalto. The faction of the co-ruler lost; upon the request of his father, he was

<sup>167</sup> I do not consider the Bishop of Torcello, Dominicus, as son of Duke Petrus Candianus III because the *Origo* is the only source reporting this relation. *Origo*, pp. 40, 130.

<sup>168</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 2, p. 39: 'Notum facimus nos Lupo patriarcha sedis Sancte Aquileiensis ecclesie omnibus hominibus nostrorum fidelium, sacerdotium seu clero et populo, quia orta fuit contentio inter nos et Veneticos pro quibusdam intervenientibus causis, deinde etiam peccatis imminentibus quidam ex nostris incontra civitatem Gradensem cum armis perrexere cupientes damna inferre. Unde dominus Petrus, Veneticorum dux in ira permottus, litigatio et magna discordia inter eum et nos adcrevit, et cum malum de die in diem magis accresceret, per multorum nostrorum ac eius fidelium legationes et deprecationes corrupta pace non valebamus ad statum proprium revocare. Tunc demum deprecantes misimus nostrum fratrem Marinum patriarcham, ut ipse ad suum senoiem de hac re se intermitteret, ut ad pacis firmamentum nos cum suo seniore revocaret. Qui et benigna mente peregit et per eius supplicationem predictus dominus Petrus dux ad pacem et ad priorem amicitiam, quam nobiscum habuit, est reversus atque secundum seriem pacti ei legem fecimus. Sed ipsa compositio per deprecationem iam dicto marino, fratri nostro patriarche, nobis reddere iussit'.

<sup>169</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 6: 'Igitur Petrus Candianus dux, quem prediximus, sexto sui ducatus anno triginta et tres naves, quas Venetici gumbarias nominant, contra Narrentanos Sclavos misit, quibus Ursus Badovarius et Petrus Rosolus prefuerunt, qui absque effectu reversi sunt. Iterum namque totidem contra eos mittere studuit, quae, federe firmato, ad propria redierunt'.

<sup>170</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 37, pp. 59–60.

<sup>171</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 40, pp. 67–69.

not executed, but exiled from Venice.<sup>172</sup> Duke Petrus Candianus III died two and a half months later after governing for seventeen years.<sup>173</sup>

## 28. Petrus Candianus IV (959–976)

*Dux.* He was the son of Duke Petrus Candianus III, who had nominated him as co-ruler. He conflicted with his father for unknown reasons. Their poor relationship resulted in the formation of two opposing factions that clashed in the square of Rivoalto. Petrus Candianus III's supporters won; consequently, his son was forced to leave Venice.<sup>174</sup> Petrus IV went to Guy, son of the King of Italy, Berengar II, who presented Petrus to his father. Berengar II extended hospitality towards the Venetian and made him participate in an expedition against Spoleto and Camerino. As a reward for the assistance that Petrus gave on this occasion, the sovereign permitted him to take his revenge on the Venetians. Petrus used six ships taken from Ravenna to assault several Venetian merchant ships.<sup>175</sup> Meanwhile, in 959, his father died. This happened two months and

<sup>172</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 8: 'Antedictus quidem Petrus dux tres habuit filios, quorum unum, nomine Petrum, populo suggerente consortem sibi elegit. Qui paterna monita flocci pendens, adversus eum insurgere temptavit, adeo ut quadam die utrarumque parcium milites ad pugnam peragendam in Rivoalto foro convenirent. Sed dum infirmo et vetulo patri maior pars populi obtemperaret filiumque perdere vellet, tandem pater misericordia motus, ne illum occideret rogare caepit. Tamen volens populo satisfacere, extra patriam illum exire iussit. Deinde omnes tam episcopi quam cuncto clero cum omni populo, facta conspiratione, iuraverunt quoniam nec in vita nec post obitum patris eum ducem haberent'.

<sup>173</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 10: 'Interea mortuus est Petrus dux, pater ipsius, qui decem et septem annis rexerat ducatum. Post filii quidem electionem non plus quam duobus mensibus et quattuordecim diebus vixisse fertur'.

<sup>174</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 8: 'Antedictus quidem Petrus dux tres habuit filios, quorum unum, nomine Petrum, populo suggerente consortem sibi elegit. Qui paterna monita flocci pendens, adversus eum insurgere temptavit, adeo ut quadam die utrarumque parcium milites ad pugnam peragendam in Rivoalto foro convenirent. Sed dum infirmo et vetulo patri maior pars populi obtemperaret filiumque perdere vellet, tandem pater misericordia motus, ne illum occideret rogare caepit. Tamen volens populo satisfacere, extra patriam illum exire iussit. Deinde omnes tam episcopi quam cuncto clero cum omni populo, facta conspiratione, iuraverunt quoniam nec in vita nec post obitum patris eum ducem haberent'.

<sup>175</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 9: 'Is autem Petrus, qui patria pulsus fuerat, comitante illo Georgio diacono et Gregorio quodam presbitero una cum duodecim propriis servis ad Hwidonem marchionem, Berengarii regis filium, pervenit. Qui eum devote suscipiens, patri Berengario regi presentavit; a quo similiter cum honore susceptus, ut secum ad Spoletensem seu Camerini marchiam debellandam properaret invitatus est. Qui rediens, accepta a rege licentia de Veneticis vindicandi, Ravennam adiit, ubi cuiusdam relatione didicit septem Veneticorum

fourteen days after he had driven his son out of Venice. The Venetians then decided to recall Petrus to Venice and elect him duke.<sup>176</sup> Shortly afterwards, he repudiated his wife, Iohannia, and obliged her to become a nun at St Zacharias. He made his son Vitalis become a cleric and oversaw his election as patriarch of Grado.<sup>177</sup> Petrus Candianus IV then married Hwalderada, sister of the Margrave of Tuscany, Hugh, who brought him numerous estates as a dowry. The duke further reinforced his ties with the mainland by hiring soldiers from the Italian kingdom.<sup>178</sup> He led military campaigns against Ferrara and Oderzo.<sup>179</sup> In 960, he prohibited the slave trade. On the same occasion the duke forbade the Venetians from carrying letters coming from the Italian Kingdom and Germany to Constantinople.<sup>180</sup> In 971, upon the request of some Byzantine ambassadors, Petrus Candianus IV prohibited the Venetians to sell arms, armours, shields, and timber to the Muslims. The duke allowed three ships, which were prepared for departure before the arrival of the Byzantine ambassadors, to go to Tripoli and to Mahdiah to sell several small wooden articles. Petrus Candianus IV made this exception due to the *paupertas* of the men aboard those ships. It is

naves in porto qui vocatur Primarius fore, quae negotiis honerate Fanensem urbem proficisci disposuerant. Tum sex Ravennatum navibus adeptis, contra easdem hostiliter irruens, eas absque obstaculo comprehendit sicque Ravennam reversus est.

<sup>176</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 10: 'Interea mortuus est Petrus dux, pater ipsius, qui decem et septem annis rexerat ducatum. Post filii quidem eiectionem non plus quam duobus mensibus et quattuordecim diebus vixisse fertur. Anno igitur incarnationis domini nostri Ihesu Christi nongentesimo quinquagesimo nono omnis Veneticorum multitudo una cum episcopis et abbatibus convenere et sacramenta oblivioni tradentes cum trecentis pene navibus preparatis Ravennam, ut supradictum Petrum in ducatus honorem restituerent, properarunt. Quem suscipientes cum tali apparatu ad palatium duxerunt sacramentorumque fide principem iterum recrearunt.'

<sup>177</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 11: 'Qui non post multum tempus, nacta occasione, maritale thorum Iohaniae uxori suę interdicens, in sancti Zachariae zoenobio monachicam vestem vi eam recipere coegit. Filium siquidem quem ex ea habuit, Vitalem nomine, clericum devovens, Gradensem patriarcham postmodum fieri promovit.'

<sup>178</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 11: 'Deinde Hugonis marchionis sororem, Hwalderada nomine, in coniugio accepit, a qua servorum ancillarumque copiis prediisque maximis dotalicii iure acceptis, exteris milites de Italico regno, cum quibus defendere et possidere predicta predia posset, acquirere studuit.'

<sup>179</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 11: 'Nempe tante audaciae fuisse fertur quo et subditos virtutis rigore plus solito premeret extraneosque sibi obsistentes ulciscendo devinceret. Ferrariensis quippe castelli populum potentissime debellavit; Opiterginum quidem castrum igne concrematur devastari iussit nonnullaque alia se obiurgantibus aspera intulit.'

<sup>180</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, pp. 70–74.

believed that these men were not in fact poor and that *pauper* must be understood in contrast to *potens*.<sup>181</sup> In 967, Emperor Otto renewed the pact with the Duchy of Venice<sup>182</sup> and the rights of the Venetians to the properties they owned in the Empire.<sup>183</sup> In comparison with previous pacts, this one represented a deterioration; it is thought that, in this manner, Otto wanted to give a clear response to Petrus Candianus IV's politics regarding the mainland. There was an uprising in 976 in which several of the duke's relatives took part. During the course of this rebellion, the Venetians killed Petrus Candianus IV and his son Petrus, whose mother was Hwalderada. Furthermore, the rebels set the Ducal Palace on fire because Petrus Candianus IV had enclosed himself and his bodyguards within the residence. The fire spread, destroying the churches of St Mark, St Theodore, and St Maria Iubianico, and more than three hundred houses.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>181</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, pp. 86–91.

<sup>182</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 47, pp. 81–85.

<sup>183</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 48, pp. 85–86.

<sup>184</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 12. 13: 'Octavo decimo quidem sui honoris anno una cum filio parvulo quem de predicta Hwalderada habuit, tali ordine interfectus est. Dum illum longo tempore Venetici ob austeritatem sui exosum haberent facultatemque perdendi sedulae machinarent, quadam die facta conspiratione in illum insurgere adorsi sunt. Palatium tamen, qui a bellicosus licet paucis militibus illum stipatum noverant, nulla ratione ausi sunt penetrare. Tandem nequam consilium invenientes, propinquas domos, quae e contra palatium citra rivolum consistebant, igne mixto picino fomento accendere studuerunt, quatinus flamarum flexibilia culmina vicinum palatium attingere et concremare possent. Unde factum est quod non modo palatium, verum etiam sancti Marci sanctique Theodori nec non sanctae Mariae de Iubianico ecclesiae et plus quam trecente mansiones eo die urerentur'.

[13.] Is autem dux, cum ignis calorem fumique suffocationem diu intra palatium ferre nequiret, per Sancti Marci atrii ianuas evadere cum paucis conatus est, ubi nonnullos Veneticorum maiores una cum generis afinitate suum expectantes periculum repperit. Quos ut cernens, taliter allocutus est: 'Et vos, fratres, ad exciui mei cumulum venire voluistis? Si aliquid in verbis vel in rebus publicis deliqui, meae inspiratae vitae spacium rogo et omnia ad vestrum velle satisfacere promitto'. Tunc ipsi sceleratissimum et morte dignum eum adfirmantes, diris vocibus clamaverunt quod nulla evadendi in illo possibilitas foret et instanter mucronum ictibus undique illum crudeliter vulnerantes, diva anima, corporeo relicto ergastulo, superum petit solia. Filium siquidem, quem nutrix ab incendio poena liberavit, a quodam nequissimo cuspidem transverberatus est pariterque milites, qui illi favere nitebantur, occisi sunt. Gelida namque corpora quorum, id est genitoris et sobolis, ob ignominiam primitus exigua nave ad macelli forum, deinde, quodam sanctissimo viro, Iohanne Gradonico nomine, interpellante, ad sancti Yllari monasterium detulerunt'.

## 29. Petrus Ursoylus (976–978)

*Dux.* Petrus Ursoylus's wife was named Felicia, with whom Petrus lived in chastity after the birth of their only son, Petrus, who became duke in 991.<sup>185</sup> Recently, Andrea Castagnetti has claimed that Dominicus Ursoyolus (second half of tenth century/beginning of eleventh century), husband of Imelda, daughter of Vitalis/Hugo Candianus, and son of *dux Petri Urseoli*, mentioned in a document of 1025, would be a son of Petrus Ursoylus and not of Petrus Ursoylus II. The Italian scholar has stated that John the Deacon, underlining that Felicia was mother to only one son, wanted to hide or deny the rights of a son, who was perhaps illegitimate.<sup>186</sup> A hint to the existence of other children of Petrus Ursoylus is constituted by the fact that both John the Deacon and the anonymous monk of the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà, who composed the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, describe Iohannes Maurecenus as *gener* of Petrus Ursoylus.<sup>187</sup> It has been hypothesized that the chronicler and the hagiographer meant *gener* as relative, not son-in-law;<sup>188</sup> unfortunately, this last hypothesis

<sup>185</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 14: 'Erat siquidem sibi coniux Felicia nomine et merito, unius nati tantummodo mater, qui patris equivocus nomine, non dissimilis exitit opere. Post cuius vero conceptionem, quam angelico inditio diva mater fertur cognovisse, maritalem torum viro sibi optemperante inviolatum vicissim Deo conservare deinceps devovere'. The *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, written by an anonymous monk of the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà, reports that Petrus Ursoylus had two sons, Johannes and Petrus, and that he made them both co-rulers. The fact that this work assigns to Petrus Ursoylus the title of *dux Venetiarum et Dalmatiarum*, held only by his son Petrus Ursoylus II, indicates an initial confusion between the two Ursoyli. Chapters 1, 4, 9: 'vitam eximii Venetiarum, atque Dalmatiarum Ducis ... cum uxore et duobus filiis ... Petrus itaque eximius Dux Venetiarum atque Dalmatiarum, congregavit Principes, & omnes regni sui optimates, dans coram omnibus suis duobus filiis Principatum sui ducaminis adclamante omni populo, tamen ignorante, ut quid hoc ageretur, & colligavit omnes maiores ac minores Johanni & Petro clarissimis Ducibus sacramento fidei'. John the Deacon relates that Petrus Ursoylus II had his two sons, Iohannes and Otto, as co-rulers at different times. Otto was originally named Petrus, before assuming the name of his godfather, Emperor Otto III. This probably created further confusion to the author of *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*. Gherardo Ortalli maintains that the most reliable source is the Venetian chronicle, and that Petrus Ursoylus only had one son. Ortalli, *Petrus I*, p. 13, n. 15.

<sup>186</sup> For an analysis of this case, see the entry Ursoyolus, Dominicus (second half of tenth century/beginning of eleventh century).

<sup>187</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 18: 'Quem Petrus dux libenter suscepit et prima nocte diei kalendarum septembriarum ipse unam cum Iohanne Gradonico, nec non Iohanne Maureceni, suo videlicet genero ...'. *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 11: 'Secuti sunt cum tres ex optimatibus suae regionis, Iohannes cognomento Maurosenus, gener ejus ...'.

<sup>188</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, p. 25, n. 2.

cannot be proven, because these authors only employ *gener* in this specific passage.<sup>189</sup> The author of the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli* narrates that Petrus Ursoylus belonged to the noble family of the Ursi,<sup>190</sup> that he was born in Rivoalto,<sup>191</sup> and that, during his childhood, his father assigned him a teacher so that he could learn ‘disciplina divini exercitii’ and ‘civilis scientia.’<sup>192</sup> This duke should be identified with the Petrus Ursoylus, who is among the signatories of the 960 and 971 documents through which Petrus Candianus IV forbade the trading of slaves and the sale of arms and timber to the Muslims.<sup>193</sup> John the Deacon narrates that, after Duke Petrus Candianus IV’s killing, the Venetians gathered in the church of St Peter and elected Petrus Ursoylus as duke.<sup>194</sup> Initially, he hesitated to accept the ducal office because, wishing to serve God since his childhood, he was afraid of failing to achieve this goal if he decided to become the ruler of Venice; he eventually agreed to be duke for the sake of his homeland.<sup>195</sup> An unedifying detail about Petrus Ursoylus’s role in the revolt against Petrus Candianus IV is, on the other hand, reported in the *Vita beati Romualdi*, composed by Peter Damiani at about mid-eleventh century. In fact this author argues that the coup against Duke Petrus Candianus IV initially

<sup>189</sup> Berto, *The Political and Social Vocabulary of John the Deacon’s ‘Istoria Veneticorum’*, p. 125.

<sup>190</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 2: ‘Fuit igitur prosapia nobilissimorum Ursonum’.

<sup>191</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 2: ‘Ortus est itaque in Rivoalto, ubi colligitur sinus maris Adriatici’.

<sup>192</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 3: ‘ab genitore traditus est didascalo, ut disciplina divini exercitii, & civilis sceintiae educaret eum, quemadmodum Christianum Christianorum filium, ad omne erudimentum capiendae salutis docibilem, ac benignum, ut doctus studio honestatis bonaeque probitatis, non ingenuitas ejus ortus periret rusticitate, sed nobilitas excelleret capacitate’.

<sup>193</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 73: ‘Ego Petrus Ursiolo’. II, no. 49, p. 88: ‘Ego Petrus Urseolo’.

<sup>194</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 14: ‘Patrato vero hoc nequissimo scelere, in sancti Petri ecclesiam convenerunt, ibique communi voto quendam virum Petrum, videlicet Ursoylum cognonime, preclarum generositate et moribus in ducatus honorem sublimare decreverunt’.

<sup>195</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 14: ‘Qui a puerili etate nil aliud quam Deo placere studens, ad tante dignitatis propectum scandere contempnebat, timens ne secularis honoris ambitione propositum amitteret sanctitatis. Tandem inopportune populo interpellante, non humano favore, sed totius reipublice comoda huiusmodi principatus apicem accipere non recusavit’. In the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, it is narrated that he was elected duke after Petrus Candianus IV’s death as everybody loved him. Chapter 3: ‘Diligitur denique ab omnibus, sicque post obitum fortissimi ducis Petri cognomine Candiani, ad honorem Ducatus in florifero felici flore juventutis positus, a cunctis Venetiarum turmis eligitur’.

appeared to fail because the duke locked himself up in the Ducal Palace with his bodyguards. Petrus Ursoylus then suggested setting fire to his own nearby house, which would cause the fire to spread to the Ducal Palace and therefore the duke would be forced to emerge. The Venetians accepted his advice and Petrus Candianus IV was killed. Peter Damiani adds that Petrus Ursoylus thus lost a house, but achieved the rule over Venice. It is necessary to point out that this author confused the names probably because he was not a Venetian and because he wrote about seventy-five years after these events; he reports that the murdered duke was called Vitalis, but Vitalis Candianus was actually the successor of Petrus Ursoylus.<sup>196</sup> The author of the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli* praises the ruling qualities of Petrus Ursoylus pointing out that, acting like Job, he took care of the needs of all his subjects, was a good legislator and judge,<sup>197</sup> and never accepted bribes.<sup>198</sup> The same source also emphasizes the great religiosity of the duke, his respect for the ecclesiastics, and the fact that he took good care of the pilgrims and the churchmen going to Venice to pray at the tomb of St Mark.<sup>199</sup> Shortly after his election, Petrus Ursoylus reached an agreement in October 976 with Hwaldrada, Petrus Candianus IV's widow, in which she renounced claim to all of her husband's existing assets.<sup>200</sup> Petrus Ursoylus renewed the pact between Venice and Koper/Capodistria in 977, as it had been destroyed in the Ducal Palace fire.<sup>201</sup> It seems that internal tensions characterized Petrus Ursoylus's rule. According to John the Deacon, the opponents of the duke advised the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis, son of Petrus Candianus IV, to go to Germany to Otto II's court and organized numerous conspiracies against

<sup>196</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v, pp. 21, 23: 'Eodem vero tempore Petrus, cognomine Ursiulus, Dalmatici ducatus gubernatus habenas. Qui videlicet ad huius fastigium dignitatis ascendere idcirco meruerat, quia decessoris sui, Vitalis scilicet Candiani, peremptoribus fautor extiterat ... visum est ut domum Petri, que ducis palatio adiacebat contigua, prius incenderent, istoque modo et ducem caperent et universa eius domestica concremarent. Istius vero rei experiende consensum a Petro, qui eorum consilii particeps fuerat, flagitantes, huius tandem mercedis foedere pacti sunt, ut pro una eius domo, quam igne consumerent, totam ditioni illius Venetiam subderent et, deletio illo quem exosum habebant, ducem hunc loco eius protinus subrogarent. Hoc igitur modo Petrus Dalmatici regni adeptus est principatum.'

<sup>197</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 3: '... quemadmodum Job sanctissimus vir...'

<sup>198</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 4.

<sup>199</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 3: 'Sed & in iudicio, numquam pro munere voluit aliquem opprimere.'

<sup>200</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 54, pp. 99–104.

<sup>201</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 56, pp. 105–09.

Petrus Ursoylus.<sup>202</sup> In 978, the duke, who, according to *Istoria Veneticorum*'s author, always wanted to serve God and had agreed to become duke for the good of the Venetians, was convinced by the Abbot of St Michael of Cuxà, Hwarinus, to abandon secular offices and become a monk at St Michael's.<sup>203</sup> Petrus Ursoylus left Venice in secrecy with Iohannes Gradonicus and Iohannes Maurocenus.<sup>204</sup> The *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, which contains a long description

<sup>202</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 15. 17: 'Interea Vitalis Gradensis patriarcha, predicti Petri imperfecti filius, quorumdam Veneticorum consilio Saxoniam ad secundum Ottonem imperatorem properavit ... [17] Antedictus vero dux ceptam patriae salutem sollerti studio procurare non desiit, licet aliquanti, quorum consilio, ut diximus, patriarcha imperatorem adiit, sue ditioni perversos repugnatores efficerentur adeo ut suam vitam crudeli funere perdere molirentur. Tamen tante bonitatis et divinae virtutis gratia vigeat, ut quicquid ipsi de se clanculo iniqua machinatione determinarent, nemine indagante, cognosceret. Nullique resistente aliquod nefas recompensare voluit, sed equo animo Dei timore omnia tollerando sustinebat'.

<sup>203</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 16: 'Eodem quoque tempore domnus Hwarinus, venerabilis abbas sancti Michaelis monasterii, quod in Equitanie partibus in loco qui vocatur Cussanus scitum manere decernitur, Romam ad apostolorum limina properavit. In redeundo quidem Dei fultus timore beatique Marci Veneciam intravit ibique aliquantis diebus orationis studio et domni Petri ducis precibus constrictus commoratus est. Quem cum domnus dux digna veneratione coleret et sedulae divina colloquia simul agerent, expertus est abbas ducem prorsus terrena parvipendere, habitamque dignitatem non ambitionis studio, sed subditorum solatio obtinere. Iniunxit tamen sibi dicens: "Si vis perfectus esse, relinque mundum huiusque dignitatis apicem, et in monasterio Deo servire festina". Cui dux: "Egregie", inquit, "pater et meae animae lucrator, suma aviditate tuis monitis obtemperare gestio, sed aliquanti temporis spacium rogo, interim meam facultatem disponere queam. Postea vero tuo monasterio tuique regiminis vinculo submissus Deo militare cupio". His quidem determinatis, certam diem decreverunt qua abbas Veneciam ad eundem suscipiendum reciperet; tum, accepta licencia, ad suum monasterium repedavit'. The *Vita b. Petri Urseoli ducis*, chapters 5–8, narrates that the duke took the decision to abandon the secular life after listening some passages from the Gospels and this happened before meeting Hwarinus.

<sup>204</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 18: 'Inter haec, statuta die prelibatus abbas ad Venetiam reversus est ea occasione quo Hierosolimam ire vellet. Quem Petrus dux libenter suscepit et prima nocte diei kalendarum septembriarum ipse unam cum Iohanne Gradonico, nec non Iohanne Maureceni, suo videlicet genero, nesciente uxore et filio omnibusque fidelibus, occulte de Venetia exierunt. Qui non procul a sancti Illarii monasterio equos assedentes, iam detonsis barbis velocissimo cursu viam carpere ceperunt, in tantum ut tertia die Mediolanensem ruram transeuntes, Vergelensem urbem conspicerent'. Peter Damiani also narrates these events. The main difference between his account and that of John the Deacon is that St Romuald and a hermit, called Marinus, played a role in the duke's decision. Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v, pp. 23–25: 'Quidam autem venerabilis abbas, Guarinus nomine, ex ulterioris Gallie finibus orationis gratia per diversas mundi regiones peregrinari solitus erat. Hic quoque ad ducem veniens, ab eo protinus ut sibi ad evadendum tanti reatus periculum consultum preberet exactus

of Petrus Ursoylus's flight,<sup>205</sup> also mentions the presence of a third Venetian, Romaldus, among the duke's companions.<sup>206</sup> The hagiographer probably made a mistake and Romaldus should be identified with St Romuald, who, according to his biographer, was one of the people convincing the Venetian duke to leave his office.<sup>207</sup> Petrus Ursoylus was fifty years old and had ruled for two years and a month when he decided to become a monk.<sup>208</sup> Peter Damiani narrates that Petrus Ursoylus's son, Petrus, sometimes visited his father in Cuxà, that the former duke predicted that his child would rule Venice, and that Petrus Ursoylus died at St Michael's.<sup>209</sup> The internal strife that defined Petrus Ursoylus's tenure

est. Accersitis igitur Marino et Romualdo, hoc sibi communi iubetur sententia, ut seculum cum ipso quem per nefas invaserat ducatu relinqueret, et quia ad aliene dominationis arcem inuste proruperat, ipse se aliene potestatis domino subiugaret ... Ipse autem post coniugem remanens, his de suis thesauris, que sibi videbantur, ablatis, cum quodam suo familiari, Iohannem scilicet Grandenico, qui prefate coniurationis conscius fuerat, et cum tribus illis beatis viris quos preposuimus navem ascendit, deinde Galliam ad monasterium abbatis Guarini magnus conversus aufugit. Petro igitur et Iohanne monachis in sancti Michaelis cenobio factis'.

<sup>205</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapters 9–12.

<sup>206</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 11: 'Secuti sunt cum tres ex optimatibus suae regionis, Iohannes cognomento Maurosenus, gener ejus, & Iohannes Gradinicus, & Romaldus'. On the other hand, Peter Damiani only mentions Iohannes Gradonicus. Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v: 'cum quodam suo familiari, Iohannem scilicet Grandenico, qui prefate coniurationis conscius fuerat ... deinde Galliam ad monasterium abbatis Guarini magnus conversus aufugit. Petro igitur et Iohanne monachis in sancti Michaelis cenobio factis'.

<sup>207</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter v: 'Accersitis igitur Marino et Romualdo, hoc sibi communi iubetur sententia, ut seculum cum ipso quem per nefas invaserat ducatu relinqueret, et quia ad aliene dominationis arcem inuste proruperat, ipse se aliene potestatis domino subiugaret'.

<sup>208</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv. 18: 'Rexit itaque ducatum annis duobus et mense uno; nam non plus etatis quam quinquaginta annorum fuerat quando secularem deposuit gloriam'.

<sup>209</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapters viii. xii, pp. 28–29, 34: 'Hunc filius aliquando visitavit. Cui pater, nescio, utrum prophetie spiritu sue revelatione aliqua, queque sibi essent eventura predixit: "Novi", inquit, "fili mi, procul dubio, quia ducem te constituent et prosperabis. Tu tantummodo satage ut et ecclesia Christi sua iura conserves et erga subditos, alicuius amore vel odio, a iustitia non declines ... Petrus autem dux extremum iam diem feliciter clauserat"'. Petrus Ursoylus's death is described in the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 18, p. 887, where it is said that it occurred 'IIII Idus Januarii ... jam reddito fructu XVIII [annorum]'. This last piece of information might indicate that he died nineteen years after his arrival at Cuxà, that is in 997. It has been however hypothesized that Petrus Ursoylus passed away in 987/988. Cf. Tolra de Bordas, *St Pierre Orsèolo, Doge de Venise, puis Bénédicte du Monastère de Saint-Michel de Cuxa en Roussillon (Conflent): Sa vie et son*, pp. 386–95, and Ortalli, 'Quando il doge diventa santo', p. 18, n. 8).

as duke of Venice did not prevent him from engaging in profitable building and alms projects. Petrus Ursoylus financed the reconstruction of the Ducal Palace and of the Church of St Mark with his own money.<sup>210</sup> He donated thousands of pounds of gold to the benefit of the Venetians and to the relief of the poor, had a golden altarpiece brought from Constantinople, which was placed on the altar of St Mark, and took away a great treasure destined to pay for the restoration of the monastery of St Michael of Cuxà.<sup>211</sup> The *Vita b. Petri Urseoli* reports that Duke Petrus Ursoylus dominated over the entire Adriatic Sea and that he was able to keep under control some unidentified barbarians and the Muslims from whom he received an annual tribute.<sup>212</sup> Given that it was Petrus Ursoylus II who distinguished himself for his military activities in the Adriatic, it is likely that the hagiographer confused the two Ursoyli in this case too. Petrus Ursoylus owned a slave named Hyeremias whom he freed probably before leaving Venice.<sup>213</sup>

### 30. Vitalis Candianus (978–979)

*Dux.* Vitalis had a son named Dominicus<sup>214</sup> and a sister whose name is unknown. The latter's husband was Iohannes (or Dominicus) Gradonicus, to whom the duke sold a mill located in 'loco qui dicitur Primiga et Corbulo et Tercio

<sup>210</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv, 14: 'Combustum vero palatium et sancti Marci ecclesiam honorifice propriis sumptibus redintegrare studuit'.

<sup>211</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, iv, 18: 'Fuit nempe pauperum nutritor, ecclesiarum recreator, clericorum et monachorum fauctor omnibusque benivolutus. De suis quidem facultatibus mille librarum numero ad Veneticorum solatia in palatio largivit; alias mille in pauperum alimonias contulit. In sancti Marci altare tabulam miro opere ex argento et auro Constantinopolim peragere iussit. Secum etiam maxima thesauri copiam ad predicti monasterii restaurationem deportavit'. In the *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 9, it is said that the duke gave many precious items to Abbot Hwarinus.

<sup>212</sup> *Vita b. Petri Urseoli*, chapter 6: 'dominator in toto maris Adriatici limbo, frenans suo discrimine etiam barbaras nationes, & filios Agar, qui sunt in insulis maris magni aequoris a quibus tributa unoquoque anno ei deferuntur immensa ac infinita ponderis auri, & argenti, atque purpurarum, ceterorumque palliorum, copiose'.

<sup>213</sup> Hyeremias is defined as *libertus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus in the list of people paying the tithe during Tribunus Menius's rule (979/991). *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 59, p. 111: 'Hyeremias, liberto Petri Urseolo ducis, dedit et iuravit'.

<sup>214</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. 9: 'Dominico filio dompni prelibati Vitalis Candiano duci'. *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 8, p. 40: 'ego quidem Dominico filio bone memorie domno Vitali duci Candianus'.

Corolla'.<sup>215</sup> The precise kinship between this duke and Petrus Candianus IV is not known.<sup>216</sup> The new duke's support of the Candianus faction is well emphasized by the fact that the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis Candianus, who had left Venice during the rule of Petrus Ursoylus, returned to the Duchy and then went as ambassador to Otto II to re-establish peaceful relations between Venice and the German Empire.<sup>217</sup> Vitalis Candianus was in office for only a year and two months. Four days before his death, he decided to become a monk at St Hilarius, where he was subsequently buried.<sup>218</sup>

### 31. Tribunus Menius<sup>219</sup> (979–991)

*Dux.* He was married to Marina from whom had a son named Mauricius.<sup>220</sup> It has been hypothesized that this duke should be identified with the Trunus

<sup>215</sup> *S. Lorenzo*, p. 123, no. IX: 'unum aquimollum cum duabus rotis factis et fabricatis insimul macinantibus, positum in loco qui dicitur Primiga et Corbulo et Tercio Corolla, qui omnes tres loci in unum convertuntur locum, que quidem omnia Dominicus pater eius comparavit a Vitali Candiano cognato suo ... de aquimollo Dominico filio dompni prelibati Vitalis Candiano duci'.

<sup>216</sup> The Vitalis Candianus mentioned in the document forbidding the slave trade was probably the brother of Petrus Candianus IV.

<sup>217</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 19: 'Post cuius dicessum Vitalis, cognomento Candianus, vir totius prudentiae et bonitatis, in ducatus honorem subrogatus est. Quod audiens Vitalis patriarcha, qui apud Veronensem marchiam morabatur, in Venetiam intravit. Qui a duce interpellatus cum suis nuntiis ad pacem inter imperatorem et Veneticos consolidandam, Teutonicam petiit regionem, quoniam ducis Petri interfectione ammodum illos execrabiles exososque habebat; firmato autem federe ad propria reversus est'.

<sup>218</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 19: 'Praedictus namque dux, corporali molestia ingruente, quattuor diebus antequam vitam presentem determinaret, monachum fieri et ad sancti Illari monasterium se deferri promovit. Praefuit autem Veneticorum ducatus anno uno mensibusque duobus tumultusque est in eodem monasterio'.

<sup>219</sup> John the Deacon mentions him with the family name Menius, while in some charters Tribunus has the surname Memus, which is probably a mistake of the copyists. *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 20: 'Tribunus, cognomento Menius'. *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 92, p. 123: 'domini Tribuno Memo duci'. No. 107, p. 142: 'Tribuno Memo ducis'. No. 193, p. 223: 'Tribuno Memo duci'. No. 209, p. 237: 'Tribuno Menio duci'. No. 257, p. 282: 'Tribuni Memi ducis et Mauritio Memo filio suo'.

<sup>220</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 92, p. 123: 'Vitalis sancte Gradensis ecclesie patriarchis filius bone memorie domini Petri ducis Candianus ... pro condigno merito dedit donavit et concessit Marinae olim ducarisse relicte olim boni domini Tribuno Memo duci et Mauritio filio suo ...'. No. 107, p. 142: 'tibi Mauritio filio bo. do. Tribuno Memo ducis et suis heredibus de totis proprietatibus quas tu in simul cum matre juverit de Vitali egregio patriarchae sanctae

Menius who is amongst the signatories of the document forbidding arms and timber trade with the Muslims that Petrus Candianus IV issued in 971.<sup>221</sup> He allowed the Church of St George, to which he donated the island of St George, to become a monastery in 982.<sup>222</sup> In June 983, Tribunus Menius ordered the restitution to the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis, Petrus Candianus IV's son, all of his father's possessions, which the Duchy had retained on Petrus Candianus IV's death<sup>223</sup>. On the same occasion, Patriarch Vitalis declared unnecessary the payment of his father's properties that the Duchy of Venice had used *pro salvatione patriae*.<sup>224</sup> Emperor Otto II made peace with the Venetians and renewed the pact between Venice and the German Empire that same month.<sup>225</sup> Struggles between the Mauroceni and Coloprini families characterized Tribunus Menius's rule. Stefanus, who had sought to kill all of the Mauroceni with the consent and support of the duke, was the head of the Coloprini.<sup>226</sup> The Mauroceni were warned of the plan and were therefore able to save themselves. The Coloprini only managed to capture Dominicus Maurocenus, who was lynched. Stefanus Coloprinus learned that the Mauroceni wished to avenge themselves and that they had the support of the duke. For this reason, the leader of the Coloprini

Gradensis ecclesie filio bo. do. Petri duci Candiani per donationem cartam quam ipse vobis fecit ...' No. 193, p. 223: 'una donacionis cartam et eam legere fecimus quod Vitalis egregio patriarcha Gradense factam habuisset ad nomen Marie ducarisse relictæ domini Tribuno Memo duci ...' No. 209, p. 237: 'donacionis cartula legitur quam domno Vitalis patriarcha bone memorie sancte Gradensis ecclesie filius domno Petro duci Candianus fecit ad nomen Marine que olim fuit dukaressa relictæ Tribuno Menio duci ...' No. 257, p. 282: 'una donationis carta quam Vitalis patriarcha sancte Gradensis ecclesie filius boni Petri ducis Candianum fecit ad Marinam olim ducissam relictam boni Tribuni Memi ducis et Mauritio Memo filio suo'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 29: 'Anno vero tercio decimo sui ducatus isdem dux Mauricium suum filium Constantinopolim mittens'.

<sup>221</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 90: 'Signum manus Truno Menio'. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 54.

<sup>222</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1.

<sup>223</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 65, pp. 130–31.

<sup>224</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, pp. 131–33.

<sup>225</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 62, pp. 122–28.

<sup>226</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 20: 'Temporibus cuius aurea Venetia nonnullis ignominiorum periculis dehonestata est. Contigit autem ut Veneticorum maiores primitus contra ducem insidias demolirentur; deinde inter sese invicem discidentes, vicissim odiorum nequitiis inficiebantur. Interea inter Maurecenos et Coloprinos, Venetiae proceres, maximum iurgium exortum est, adeo ut Stefanus Coloprinus cum filiorum et parentum afinitate, praedicti ducis consensu et virtute, quadam die in Maurecenos abolendos insurgeret'.

decided to leave Venice together with two of his sons as well as other relations and friends.<sup>227</sup> He went to Emperor Otto II asking for assistance to take possession of Venice.<sup>228</sup> The Emperor consented to Stefanus's request and ordered that no Venetian was permitted to enter the lands of the Empire, and that none of his subjects were to go to Venice.<sup>229</sup> In the meantime, the Coloprini blocked the flow of provisions from the Italian Kingdom to Venice.<sup>230</sup> Tribunus Menius ordered the arrest of Coloprini's wives and the destruction of their houses as punishment.<sup>231</sup> The Coloprini could not continue their actions because of the deaths of Otto II and Stefanus Coloprinus. Thanks to Empress Adelaide's intercession with Tribunus Menius, the sons of Stefanus were allowed to return to Venice.<sup>232</sup> Despite the promise that they would not be harmed, several Mauroceni assassinated them. John the Deacon reports that some peo-

<sup>227</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24: 'Quem predictus Stefanus Coloprinus una cum duobus filiis et quibusdam parentibus expertus quod Maurecenorum temeritas, ducis videlicet consulto, parentis mortem vellent ulcisci, clam de Venetia exiens, festinanter adire procuravit.'

<sup>228</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24: 'Cui imperator valedicens, cur propria amittere voluisse requisivit. Cumque infortuniis viae ventum seriae exponeret, cesari persuasit quod si vellet consiliis monitisque suis acquiescere, Venetiam diu desideratam facili certaminae posset acquirere. Et insuper quo imperatoris animus ad hoc nequissimum perficiendum scelus potius exardesceret, centu libras purissimi auri se illi daturum spondit, si, devicta patria, sibi ducatus dignitatem concederet.'

<sup>229</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 24: 'Quod audiens imperator, universis suo sceptrui adiacentibus edictum et inevitabile intulit preceptum ut nemo aliqua presumptione fultus deinceps quemlibet Veneticum in aliquam sui imperii partem permetteret exire, neque aliquis suorum in Venetiam auderet intrare. Tunc unicuique Veneticorum secum degenti firmiter precepit ut cum suis videlicet nunciis loca quibus alimonia confluere ad Veneticorum solacia noverant sollerti studio custodirent.'

<sup>230</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 25: 'Unde factum est quo Stefanus Coloprinus cum filio suo Dominico Patavi commoraretur, Ursus Badovarius Athesim fluvium previderet, Dominicus quidem Silvo cum Petro Tribuno Mistrinis partibus insisterent, Iohannes quidem Bennatus, ceu Nugigerulus, inter omnes discurrere sedulae festinaret, Marinus Coloprinus in Istriensi comitatu huiusmodi officium perageret, Ravennam quoque Stefano iuniori, prelibati Stefani filio, ad custodiendum iniungeret.'

<sup>231</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 25: 'Tribunus dux repugnantium infidelium nequitiam inultam diu non ferens, domos illorum devastari permisit uxoresque ne aufugere possent, custodire precepit.'

<sup>232</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 27: 'Tunc repente apud Ticinum mortuo Stefano Coloprino, augusta praecibus Ugonis videlicet marchionis constricta, filios cum quibusdam aliis suis, preeuntibus nunciis, ad Tribunum ducem destinavit, quatinus quicquid sibi vel quibuslibet aliis perverse deliquissent, suo amore Venetiam consequi mererentur.'

ple believed the duke was responsible for these deaths.<sup>233</sup> In 991 he sent his son Mauricius to Constantinople for unknown reasons.<sup>234</sup> Six days before his own death, a gravely ill Tribunus Menius was obliged to become a monk at St Zacharias, where he was later inhumed. He governed for thirteen years and five months.<sup>235</sup>

### 32. Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008)

*Dux*; son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus and Felicia.<sup>236</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II's wife was Maria, with whom he lived in chastity for the last years of his life.<sup>237</sup> They had five sons, Iohannes, Ursus, Petrus/Otto, Vitalis, and Henricus,<sup>238</sup> and four daughters, but only the name of the oldest, Hicela, is known; the duke made the other three daughters become nuns.<sup>239</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II was thirty years old

<sup>233</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 28: 'Tribunus vero dux, quamquam invitus, tamen imperatricis iussu et prece gratiam simul et patria illis concessit et insuper, ne ab aliquis inimicorum temere occiderentur, quattuor iuratoribus, sacramentorum fide muniti, securi in patria persisterunt. Maureceni sane taciti hoc totu considerantes, firmiter parentis mortem vindicare decreverant. Quapropter dum quadam die tres fratres, Stefani Coloprini nati, de palatio solito vellent domum parva rate redire, a quattuor Maurecenis interempti, rivoli latices proprio cruore infecerunt ... Licet dux ab huiusmodi nefas se immunem redderet, nonnulli tamen eiusdem scleris eum noxium affirmabant'.

<sup>234</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 29: 'Anno vero tercio decimo sui ducatus isdem dux Mauricium suum filium Constantinopolim mittens'.

<sup>235</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 29: 'Anno vero tercio decimo sui ducatus ... ipso eodemque infirmitate detentus sex diebus, non sua sponte, sed populo cogente, antequam ultimum sibi obscureretur, monachus in sancti Zachariae caenobio effectus est. Prefuit autem Veneticis annis tredecim et mensibus quinque sepultusque est in eodem monasterio'.

<sup>236</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 30: 'Petrum, antedicti domni Petri Ursiuli ducis sobolem'.

<sup>237</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Mariae generose suae uxoris thorum sequestratum habere deimceps decrevit, ea videlicet ratione, quo nullum divorcium foret in familiaritatis conversatione'.

<sup>238</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Nomina quorum ut rite recordor exprimere libet. Illorum primus herile sortitus est nomen qui forma et viribus bene respondebat suis natalibus. Secundus nominatur Ursus; iste sic officium gerens clericatus quo haud inmerito queat dici clericorum decus. Tercius est ordine Otto, predictus puerulus, patris qui constat dignitate equivocus. Quartus nominatur Vitalis; hic ingenii strenuitate ecclesiasticam adeptus est sortem. Quintus estat vocabulo Heinricus, species cuius puerilis ceu iubar micat solis'.

<sup>239</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Quattuor quoque filiae eidem opimo manebat patri; quarum primam, Hicelam nomine, Stephano Sclavorum regis filio, de quo antea predixi, in coniugio honorifice sociavit; reliquas vero tres in monasterio Deo omnipotenti mancipavit'.

when he was elected.<sup>240</sup> The only information that exists about him before he became duke is that he was probably amongst the signatories of the foundation of the monastery of St George in December 982,<sup>241</sup> and that he visited his father after the latter had decided to leave Venice and become a monk at St Michael of Cuxà.<sup>242</sup> At the beginning of his rule, Petrus Ursoylus II established friendly relations with the Byzantines, the Muslims, the Italian lords, and Otto III.<sup>243</sup> In contrast, the Venetian duke refused to pay the usual tribute to the Croats.<sup>244</sup> This decision provoked considerable tension between the Venetians and the Croats. John the Deacon reports that the duke sent six warships against the Slavs in response to their *molestie*. The Venetians conquered Chissa and brought prisoners of both sexes back to Venice during this expedition. Given that the Croats had continued to demand payment of the tribute, Petrus Ursoylus II scornfully replied that he would himself go to Croatia to pay it.<sup>245</sup> The duke

<sup>240</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 30: 'Anno vero dominicae incarnationis nongentesimo nonagesimo primo Petrum... trigesimo suae ætatis anno Veneticorum populi ad paternam dignitatem promoverunt'.

<sup>241</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Petrus Ursoyolo manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>242</sup> Peter Damiani, *Vita beati Romualdi*, chapter VIII, pp. 28–29: 'Hunc filius aliquando visitavit. Cui pater, nescio, utrum prophetie spiritu sue revelatione aliqua, queque sibi essent eventura predixit: "Novi", inquit, "fili mi, procul dubio, quia ducem te constituent et prosperabis. Tu tantummodo satage ut et ecclesia Christi sua iura conserves et erga subditos, alicuius amore vel odio, a iustitia non declines"'.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>243</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 31: 'In sui quidem honoris exordio Constantinopolitanos imperatores omnesque Saracenorum principes suis legationibus placatos ac devotos amicos firma stabilitate adquisivit. Nuncios etiam Saxoniam ad tertium Ottonem regem, praeclare indolis puerulum, destinavit, cum quo tanti amoris ac amicitiae vinculo sese coartavit, quatinus, remota dilatione, deinceps quicquid sibi possibile conpetebat, ad votum consequeretur ... Cum Italicis vero principibus amicitiae foedere copulatus semper mansisse probatur. Tamen si quis horum, aliqua stipatus temeritate, suis quoddam honorosum plus pacti decreto inponere voluisset, viriliter obsistendo sui compos in omnibus manebat'.

<sup>244</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 31: 'Hisdem namque dux a Croatorum Sclavorum oppressione suos potenter liberavit, quibus etiam solitum censum primus dare interdixit'.

<sup>245</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 40: 'Circa haec namque tempora Croatorum iudex propter interdictum sibi censum a duce in Veneticos lesionis molestiam exercere conatus est. Unde domnus dux sex naves praeparatas illuc mittens, quibus Badovarius, cognomento Bragadinus, prefuit. Qui unam illorum civitatem, quae Issa nominabatur, comprehendens utriusque sexus captivos ad Veneciam deportavit. Et ex hoc maioris odii cumulum inter Veneticos et Sclavos pululavit coeperuntque iterum censum inopportune ducis exigere, quibus dux pro illorum ignominia demandans: "Non per quemlibet nunciorum hunc mittere curo, sed vita comite ad hanc persolvendam dationem venire ipse non denegabo"'.<sup>245</sup>

kept his word. He decided to lead a fleet to Dalmatia, when the inhabitants of Zara/Zadar, the only Dalmatian city then subject to Venice, requested Petrus Ursoylus II's assistance because the Narentans had captured forty of their citizens.<sup>246</sup> The duke's foray into Dalmatia engendered a series of voluntary and forced obeisances to Venice. During this campaign, Petrus Ursoylus II stopped in Istria (at Parenzo/Poreč and Pola/Pula), where the inhabitants and bishops of these cities welcomed him.<sup>247</sup> He had the same treatment at Osseero/Osor where the duke recruited several men. Petrus Ursoylus II received the oath of allegiance at Zara/Zadar from the local authority and the people of the surrounding area, including the bishops and *priores* of Veglia/Krk and Arbe/Rab.<sup>248</sup> The Venetian duke refused the king of Croatia's offers of peace, and, at Cazza/

<sup>246</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 45: 'Illis namque temporibus in Dalmacianorum confinio non plus quam Lateranenses cives Veneticorum ducis ditioni obtemperabant. Quos Croatorum ac Narentanorum principes crebro affligere solebant in tantum ut Narrentani horum quadraginta comprahendentes, secum vinctos deportaverunt. Unde Dalmacianorum populi omnes poene simul convenientes, Petro Veneticorum duci suis internunciis hoc demandaverunt, quod si ipse venire aut exercitum mittere vellet, qui eos a Scavorum severitate liberaret, ipsi et illorum civitates perpetua stabilitate suae suorumque successorum potestati subditos manerent'.

<sup>247</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 47: 'Inde pelligi sulcando undas Istriensem ad provinciam transientes, civitatis Parentinae iuxta insulam velis depositis, pernoctare disposuerunt. Quibus venerabilis Andreas episcopus occurrens, famulamina Petro duci multa inperitus est. Quem humiliter rogans ut sancti Mauri oraculum adire non recusaret; cuius petitioni adquiescens, multo milite stipatus urbem intravit et expletis in sancti Mauri aeclesia ministeriis sacris. Arrepto exin itinere, remigantibus nautis, apud monasterii sancti Andreae insulam, quae iuxta Pollensem civitatem manet, grata ospicia habere voluerunt. Illuc Bertaldus Pollensis eximius antistes cum clericorum et civium multitudine festinus advenit et utroque honore eundem ducem glorificavit'.

<sup>248</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 48: 'Deinde vastum velificando aequor Absarensem ad urbem delati sunt, ubi non modo cives, verum omnes de finitimis tam Romanorum quam Sclavorum castellis convenientes, tanti ospitis adventum se praevenisse gaudebant et sacramentis ab omnibus peractis sub illius principis potestate manere decreverant. Hoc peracto, sacrum diem pentecosten solemniter celebrantes, predicto principi laudis modulamina decantaverunt. Tunc omnibus, quibus aetatis plenitudo adherat, secum venire iussit et, acceptis stipendiis, dispositum transfretare iter caeperunt. Altera vero die Iatarensem antequam adpropinquaret urbem, eiusdem civitatis prior cum episcopo et caeteris suum dominum gaudimoniis potiti recaeperunt, et ingressi urbem, ibi illius regionis maiores confluentes, eiusdem principis dominationi subesse praebant. Inter quos Veclensis et Arbensis episcopi cum earum civitatum prioribus adfuerunt et pari voto supra sacra evangelistarum dicta iuraverunt quo iuxta illorum scire et posce deinceps domni Petri ducis fidem observare debuissent. Insuper episcopi eisdem sacris confirmaverunt quo feriatis diebus, quibus laudis pompam in aeclesia depromere solebant, istius principis nomen post imperatorum laudis preconiiis glorificarent'.

Sušac, ordered the capture of forty Narentans who were returning from Apulia.<sup>249</sup> He then obtained the oath of allegiance from the people of Biograd under threat of force. The inhabitants of the islands of Vergada, Traù/Trogir, and Spalato/Split offered oaths of allegiance on their own initiative.<sup>250</sup> At Traù/Trogir, Petrus Ursoylus II also received an oath of allegiance from Surigna/Krešimir, who had been deposed by his brother, the king of Croatia. As a guarantee of his loyalty, the Croatian ruler gave his son, Stephen, to the Venetian duke as a hostage.<sup>251</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II then made a peace treaty with the *princeps* of the Narentans, to whom he returned thirty-four of the previously captured forty Narentans. The other six prisoners were kept as a guarantee of the peace agreement.<sup>252</sup> The duke obtained the submission of the inhabitants of

<sup>249</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 49: 'Croatorum itaque rex ad suae gentis depopulationem ducem advenisse prenoscens, nunciorum studio eundem placare pacificis nisus est verbis. Quod domnus dux omnino parvi pendens, eosdem nuncios redire dimisit et sic tractare cum utriusque gentis exercitu adorsus est quo inimicorum aditus intrare, vel quibus argumentis illorum munitissima loca indemnis capere posset. Tunc quorundam relatione didicit quadraginta Narentanorum nobilium de Apuleis partibus peractis negociis ad propriam velle reverti. Decem naves, hominibus oneratę, ad insulam quae vocatur Caza sub omni festinatione destinavit. Qui dum irent, facili certamine eosdem comprehendentes, Traorensem ad urbem accelerare voluerunt.'

<sup>250</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 50–51: 'Domnus namque dux utriusque et Dalmacianorum ac Venetiquorum militibus circumseptus, sexto die predictam urbem relinquens, ad quandam non longe a Belgradense urbe insulam advenit, de qua talem legationem civibus mittere placuit, ut si spontaneum famulicium persolvere et fidelitatem sibi iurare vellent, gratiam adipisci valerent, sin autem se certamine capturos procul dubio scirent. Hoc vero audientes, domini sui, Sclavorum scilicet regis, periculum incurrere formidabant et tanto principi resistere non valebant. Unde utroque discrimine positi, quid agere poenitus ignorabant; tandem timoratione domni ducis attriti adstantibus eiusdem regis militibus et sacramenta et obsequium persolverunt. Egressus vero inde, Levigradę insulae colones egregio duci occurrentes, sacramenta prompte fecerunt. [51.] Cumque Traorensem urbem peteret, ab episcopo civibusque sacramentis corroboratus est ... Hinc Spaletinam nobilissimam et validam urbem, quę tocius Dalmaciae metropolis constat, predictus princeps advenit. Quem archiepiscopus, sacro infulatus officio, cum urbana tam clericorum quam laicorum multitudine excepit et missarum sollempniam celebrans ex voto iusiurandi fide eidem omnes placare satagerunt.'

<sup>251</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 51: 'Sclavorum etiam regis frater, Surigna nomine, aderat, qui, condam fraterno dolo deceptus, regni amiserat diadema. Ipse namque non modo sacramenti vinculo se eidem duci associavit, verum etiam Stefanum puerulum, karissimam sobolem suam, sibi pro obside commendavit.'

<sup>252</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 52: 'Narentanorum quidem princeps quadraginta suorum in captivitatem mancipatos expertus est. Qui suis internunciis domnum ducem continua prece sibi illos reddi imploravit, hoc videlicet pacto, quo priusquam ipse dux de illis exiret finibus,

Curzola/Korčula through the threat of the army.<sup>253</sup> As he could not manage to get the same result from the inhabitants of Lagosta/Lastovo, who had often undertaken acts of piracy against the Venetians, Petrus Ursoylus II forcefully occupied the island.<sup>254</sup> He returned to Venice after receiving the oath of the archbishop of Ragusa/Dubrovnik at the church of St Maximus.<sup>255</sup> Regarding the date of this expedition, John the Deacon states that it happened in the seventh year of Petrus Ursoylus II's rule, that is in 998.<sup>256</sup> The Venetian chronicler then reports that he met Emperor Otto III at Como, while Petrus Ursoylus II was in Dalmatia. John the Deacon claims that it was the third time the Emperor

tam ille, Narrentanorum princeps, quam omnes sui maiores sibi ad satisfaciendum pro suis votis convenirent et nec census predictum aliquo modo exigere nec quempiam iterantem Veneticum molestare deberet. Tunc dux captivos reddere iubens, sex tantum illorum ne ipse pacem violasset retentos secum reservavit.

<sup>253</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 53: 'His definitis, ad alios illius regionis subiugandos gressum tendere cepit. Apud sancti Maximi ecclesiam ospicium habere dum voluisset, Curzule insule habitatores, suis recusantes parere iussionibus, valida manu adquisivit sueque potestati subiugavit.'

<sup>254</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 53–54: 'Preterea dum isdem dux quicquid cordi aderat Deo fautore ad votum consequeretur, improbos Ladestine insulae habitatores agredi conatus est. A quorum rabiae Venetici illa per navigantes loca propriis facultatibus privati, nudi sepiissime evaserunt. Erat siquidem eadem insula scopulosis promuntoriis circumsepta; licet aditum intrantibus non denegaret, montium tamen sublimitate ostentabatur, e quibus unus murorum menibus turriumque hedificiis munitus, inexpugnabilis ab omnibus credebatur. [54] Dein vero predictus princeps, multitudine navium collecta, quendam illius insulae portum penetravit, mandans civibus ut relicta pertinacia ad se venirent, aut pugna sese petituos scirent. Qui timore constricti pacifica verba protulerunt. Postmodum illis iniunctum fuit nulla ratione pacem a duce consequi posse, nisi civitatem ipsi destruerent, destructam vero inreparabilem inhabitabilemque relinquerent. Quod omni nisu facere interdicentes, tanti exercitui sese obsistere adorsi sunt. Tunc isdem princeps suos ad certamen preparare illosque inpugnare acriter iussit; verum quia arduus locus difficilem dabat appropinquantibus ingressum, iaculorum ictibus hostes aliquandiu procul, virtute qua poterant, coarcere satagebant. Tamen Dei omnipotentis dispensatione maior pars exercitus ex illo loco, unde illius municionis ostia patebant, impetum facientes, reliqua montis per devia consendendo, turres, ubi aquarum vascula tuebantur, comprehenderunt. In quibus consistentes, in tantum luctamine comprimebant, donec deiectione animo, armis depositis, nichil amplius quam mortis exosum periculum evadere flecxis exorabant poplitibus. Dux itaque pietatis amator omnes vivos conservare instituens, civitatem tantum devastare precepit.'

<sup>255</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 54: 'Quo peracto victor princeps sancti Maximi aecclesiam reciprocavit. Illic Ragusiensis archiepiscopus cum suis conveniens, eidem principi sacramenta omnes facientes, obsequia multa detulerunt. Inde predictas civitates repetendo remeans, ad Veneciam cum tali triumpho tandem regressus est.'

<sup>256</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 46.

had gone to Italy,<sup>257</sup> which was in the year 1000. The latter date is the most likely. After the expedition to Dalmatia, Petrus Ursoylus II assumed the title of *dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum*.<sup>258</sup> Forcing the Saracens besieging Bari to flee was another of Petrus Ursoylus II's military successes.<sup>259</sup> John the Deacon confused the dates in this case as well. He reports that this episode occurred in 1004, the tenth year of Petrus Ursoylus II's rule.<sup>260</sup> The two dates are contradictory because the duke was elected in 991. As reported by an inscription in a cave of the 'Isolotto del Faro' (Vieste, Apulia), the expedition to Bari occurred in 1002.<sup>261</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II did not always rely on military campaigns to secure and advance Venetian power. He did not intervene militarily in his dealings with the Bishop of Belluno, John, who, during Duke Tribunus Menius's rule, had seized several territories of Civitas Nova-Heracliana. He initially waited for an envoy from Otto III, Duke Henry, to consider the disagreement. The representative of the Emperor, however, secretly made an agreement with the bishop of Belluno and issued an unfavourable sentence to Venice.<sup>262</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II

<sup>257</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 55.

<sup>258</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 65: 'Anno quidem incarnationis Redemptoris nostri millesimo quarto, ducatus vero domni Petri Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum ducis decimo'.

<sup>259</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 66–68.

<sup>260</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 65–66: 'Anno quidem incarnationis Redemptoris nostri millesimo quarto, ducatus vero domni Petri Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum ducis decimo, Iohannes eiusdem ducis egregia proles genitoris effectus est consors dignitate ... [66.] Eodem vero anno Sarracenorum multitudo, Apuliensium fines invadens, Varensem civitatem, ubi Gregorius imperialis catapanus preerat, ex omni parte obsidione circumdabat. Quod audiens Petrus prepotens dux, preparare maximam expeditionem iussit'.

<sup>261</sup> Ortalli, 'Pietro II Orseolo *Dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum*', p. 26: '† In nomine domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Anno ab incarnationis eius millesimo II, mense Septembris, die III. indictione I, introivit in isto porto dominus Petro, dux Venetiquorum et Dalmatianorum, cum naves C, preparatus ad bellum contra Sarracenos qui sedebant supra Vares — † Et pugnavit cum illis; alii occiderunt, alii in fugam miserunt — † Dominicus presbiter'. The edition and the photo of this inscription can be seen also in Tomaz, *In Adriatico nell'Antichità e nell'alto Medioevo*, p. 468.

<sup>262</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 33: 'Interea Iohannes Belonensis episcopus Venetiquorum ducatus praedia in finibus Civitatis novae Tribuni ducis tempore usurpata per vim actenus retinebat. Quem nec regalis iussio, nec quolibet promissum ab ipso infortunium terrere potuit quo iniuste retenta redderet pacemque cum domno Petro duce haberet. Qui dux, quamquam moleste, tamen pacifice interim Heinrici ducis presenciam Veronensis susciperet marchia hoc tollerare disposuit. Pervento vero duce, suis internunciis eundem petere procuravit; qui amicitie foedere simulatus, de Iohanne episcopo seu ceteris sibi adversantibus legem facere ad suum velle spopondit. Tamen, quod ore promisit, citius faciendi voluntatem dicto permutavit'.

then let Otto III know what had happened. The German sovereign disapproved of Duke Henry's conduct and sent another of his representatives. The bishop of Belluno, however, refused to receive him.<sup>263</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II subsequently forbade Venetians from buying or selling anything in the march of Verona's markets and in Istria, an event that brought much damage to the livestock and inhabitants of these areas.<sup>264</sup> In May 995 at Aachen, Otto III confirmed the boundaries of the territory of Cittanova. This document does not, however, make any mention of the dispute between the Duchy of Venice and the bishop of Belluno.<sup>265</sup> The embargo lasted until 996, when Otto III came to Italy and obliged the prelate of Belluno to return the stolen territories to the Venetians.<sup>266</sup> In reality, the disagreement continued, to which Otto III's 998 decrees on the Civitas Nova-Heracliana's territories attest.<sup>267</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II's desire to control this area is also outlined by the fact that in 997 he rented the port of Settimo

<sup>263</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 33: 'Petrus itaque dux, tante deceptionis providus, suum legatum Ottoni, famosissimo regi, ad Aquisgrani pallacium sine aliqua mora transmisit, qui huiusmodi causas ordine sibi panderet. Hoc denique expertus rex prenotati ducis Heinrici actum omnino redarguens; omnia obmissa praedia Petro duci praeceptali institutione ad habendum concessit. Cui etiam Brunonem, nobilem suum militem, misit, qui hoc negotium legis censura regiaque auctoritate inter se et episcopum definiret. Quem episcopus adeo flocti pendens ut illum nec colloquio adire nec videre voluisset.'

<sup>264</sup> John the Deacon, who does not provide any dates, is the only chronicler to report these events. *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 33: 'Cumque dominus Petrus dux talia cerneret, accepto a regio nuncio et a suis salubre consilium, inevitabile decretum supra suos inposuit, quo nemo illorum aliqua presumptione fultus predictam seu Istriensem aussus foret marchiam adire, neque aliquod venale vicissim vendere vel comparare. His quidem peractis, regalis nuncius ad propriam reversus est. Caepum vero iurgium a duce diutissime perduravit, in tantum videlicet ut non solum illius marchiae peculia salis egestate consumerentur, verum etiam homines, subsidiis Veneticorum carentes, miserabili calamitate perpressi, sedule ad ducem pacem, quam consequi non valebant, humiliter efflagitarent.'

<sup>265</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 73.

<sup>266</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 34–35: 'Dux itaque audiens Ottonem regem ad Italiam venturum, pacem cum praedictae marchiae populo facere diferabatur. Tunc suos nuncios denuo Teutonicam <regionem> mittere disposuit, qui inter Alpium anfractus regem iam ad Ausonia venientem repperierunt. A quo honorifice suscepti, [...] suis dux inimicis intulerat libenter audivit. Insuper promisit numquam quolibet modo illum constringere ad pacem faciendam interim ipse vellet. [35] Iohannes quidem prememoratus episcopus, seu Rozo, Tarvisianę sedis antistes, cum quibuslibet aliis ad pacem interpellandam ibi convenerunt, quibus rex hanc adquirere interdicens donec domni Petri ducis polliciti forent satisfaciendo gratiam recuperare. Insuper Iohannem episcopum ducis terram, quam iniuste possedebat, reddere cum lege coegit.'

<sup>267</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 82–85.

from the bishop of Ceneda.<sup>268</sup> Otto III continued to demonstrate his friendship to Petrus Ursoylus II on other occasions. In addition to confirming the usual privileges to the Venetians in 992<sup>269</sup> and conceding permission for them to trade in three ports of the Italian Kingdom in 996,<sup>270</sup> the German sovereign stood as godfather for the confirmation of Petrus Ursoylus II's son, Petrus, who changed his name and assumed that of Otto.<sup>271</sup> In 1001, the Emperor secretly went to the Duchy of Venice to meet Petrus Ursoylus II,<sup>272</sup> where he relieved the duke of the tribute the Venetians traditionally gave to the German sovereigns,<sup>273</sup> and stood as godfather to one of the duke's daughters.<sup>274</sup> After this meeting, Petrus Ursoylus II and Otto III continued to have friendly relations and exchanged precious gifts.<sup>275</sup> The friendship between Venice and the German Empire was also maintained by Otto III's successor, Henry II, who renewed the privileges of the Venetians in the Italian Kingdom in 1002<sup>276</sup> and stood as godfather for the confirmation of one of Petrus Ursoylus's sons (probably the youngest son, Henricus).<sup>277</sup> Relations between Venice and Byzantines were similarly excellent during Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. In 992, Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII

<sup>268</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 78, pp. 156–58.

<sup>269</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 69, pp. 137–39.

<sup>270</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 75, pp. 153–54.

<sup>271</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 34: 'Deinde antequam Italiae planiciem peteret, eundem ducem dulci praece rogando demandavit ut suum natum, adhuc christianae fidei confirmatione carentem, Veronam sine aliqua mitteret mora; quod dux suorum fidelium consilio facere adquevit. Puero quidem Verona pervento, officiose a rege susceptus est. Quem chrismatis unctione propriis amplexibus coartatum fecit munire et, amisso paterno nomine, Otto, id est suus aequivocus, nuncupatus est.'

<sup>272</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 56–60.

<sup>273</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 59: 'Pallium quidem, quod pro pacti federe a Veneticis supra quinquaginta libras persolvebatur, eidem suo compatri duci perpetua scriptione donabat.'

<sup>274</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 59: 'Ad perfecte namque fidei vinculum confirmandum, filiam ducis adhuc caticumina de sacro baptismatis lavacro cesar suscepit.'

<sup>275</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 62: 'Eo tempore duo imperialia ornamenta auro miro opere acta cesar per Iohannem diaconum Petro suo compatri duci, unum ex Papiensi aliud ex Ravennati urbem dono transmisit. Cui dux recompensationis gratia cathedram elephantinis artificiose sculpta tabulis per eundem diaconum Ravenne direxit, quam avide suscipiens in eadem conservandam urbe reliquit.'

<sup>276</sup> *Heinrici II et Arduini diplomata*, no. 24, p. 27.

<sup>277</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 70: 'Cui Petrus etiam Veneticorum dux in predicta urbe suum natum mire pulchritudinis puerulum, prece sua permotus, honorifice delegavit, quem chrismatis divo liquore ex more fecit linire, patri obtime muneratum remisit.'

granted trading privileges to the Venetians.<sup>278</sup> Iohannes, Petrus Ursoylus II's elder son and co-ruler,<sup>279</sup> went to Constantinople on two occasions. The second journey was for his marriage to Maria, the daughter of the Byzantine Patrician, Argirus, who was probably related to the imperial family.<sup>280</sup> The Byzantine author Georgius Cedrenus, who wrote about a century after this event, reports that Maria was the sister of the future Emperor Romanus III Argirus, and that the Venetians rendered themselves subjects of the Byzantines through this marriage.<sup>281</sup> On this occasion, the emperors granted Iohannes the title of *patricius*, an office that no Venetian had ever held.<sup>282</sup> Iohannes's brother, Otto, was also present at the wedding. Iohannes Ursoylus brought his wife Maria to Venice, where she gave birth to a son for whom Petrus Ursoylus II himself stood as godfather, and who was named Vassilius in honour of Emperor Basil II.<sup>283</sup> Shortly

<sup>278</sup> *I trattati con Bisanzio*, pp. 22–25.

<sup>279</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 65: 'Anno quidem incarnationis Redemptoris nostri millesimo quarto, ducatus vero domni Petri Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum ducis decimo, Iohannes eiusdem ducis egregia proles genitoris effectus est consors dignitate'.

<sup>280</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 71: 'Hoc quoque tempore Petrus famosus dux, sedula petitione a Vassyllo et Constantino imperatoribus coactus, Iohannem ducem, suam dilectam prolem, ad regiam urbem causa coniugii delegavit. Quem imperatores dum benigne susciperent, cuiusdam nobilissimi patricii filiam Argiropoli nomine, imperiali editam stirpe, illi desponsare decreverunt et, ut tante femine, imperatorum videlicet neptis, copulationis dies acceleraret, prefatus dux una cum puella imperiali decreto in quadam capella convenire permissi sunt ibique ab eiusdem urbis pastore sacre benedictionis munus ab imperatoribus aureas diademas suis capitibus perceperunt. Quibus dextera utroque imperatore superposita manu, aulam qua convivantium cetus manere videbatur, tali decoritate pervenerunt. Predicti namque imperatores tam egregiae ac iocunde hunc peragere thalamum satagebant, ut triduo convivantium gaudiis haud defuerunt ipsi familiares convive. Hoc tali in palacio quod Yconomium nuncupatur peracto ordine, quisque eorum, muneribus receptis, retrogradus recessit. Novicius vero dux cum sua venusta sponsa apud pallacium, quod iure dotalicium nuper adquisierat, degere disposuit'.

<sup>281</sup> Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, II, p. 452.

<sup>282</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 72: 'Cui Vassilius imperator iniungens monuit ne ab urbe discederet interim de Bulgarorum finibus, quos valida expugnando manu agredi temptabat, Dei auxilio reverteretur. Cuius monitis dux acquiescens, promte eius adventum prestolabatur. Ipso autem redeunte, patricius officii dignitate eundem sublimavit ducem'.

<sup>283</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 73: 'Cumque probabili et diu anhelanti patri duorum natorum foret nunciatum adventum, caelorum regi gratias agens navium multitudine eosdem procul a litore fecit excipere et tali circumscripti pompa apud pallacii tribunal genitorum amplexibus sunt restituti incolomes. Pater siquidem non solum suis, verum exteris hominibus convivia crebra huiusmodi thalamus facere non cessavit. Revera per gaudium nostris finibus emicuisse nemo nostrorum reminiscitur. Domna vero Maria greca ductrix non post plures dies puerum,

afterwards, Iohannes Ursoylus and his wife died of a plague, which claimed many victims in Venice. Iohannes and Maria were buried in the monastery of St Zacharias.<sup>284</sup> The office of co-ruler, which had been awarded to Iohannes, was then given to Otto, even though he was only fourteen years old.<sup>285</sup> The duke was with his son Otto when he granted the inhabitants of Piove di Sacco some trade exemptions in 1007/1008.<sup>286</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II was an avid proponent of architectural splendor, increasing the aesthetic infrastructure of Venice during his rule. He ordered the restoration of the whole of the city of Grado.<sup>287</sup> In the period in which his grandson, Vassilus, was born, Petrus Ursoylus II donated 1050 pounds of coins to the duchy of Venice and finished the restoration of the Ducal Palace, which was decorated with marbles and gold, and in which he had a chapel built.<sup>288</sup> On the occasion of the election of his son Ursus as bishop of

Constantinopolim genitum, Venetiae protulit natum; quem Petrus eximius dux de sacro baptismatis lavacro suscipiens, Vassilium ob avunculi sui imperatoris nomen imposuit.

<sup>284</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 75: 'Interea Petrus dux dum sibi pro votis poene cuncta subpeditare decernere, plus solito subiectum equitatis censura populum regere studebat. Sed divina providentia, moderamine equo omnia disponens, illum in tante felicitatis fastigioconstitutum ad sue virtutis provectum acriter perculit. Eodem itaque tempore stella cometis, cuius indicium humanum semper pronunciat flagicium, in meridiano climate apparens, quam maxima per omnes Italiae seu Veneciae fines pestilentia subsecuta est. In qua utriusque sexus humane conditionis nonnulli inopinata morte ceciderunt, inter quos domna Maria greca ductrix nec non Iohannes egregius vir suus, sedecim dierum numero in sancti Zacharie monasterio, pro dolor, uno clauduntur mausoleo.'

<sup>285</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 76: 'Sed ut tantis meroris quoddam presidium adesset consolationis, pari consensu Venetici interpellantes, domni Petri principis alterum natum, scilicet Ottonem, regalem puerum, ducatus dignitate sublimavere. Qui quamquam terrena etate quattuordecim annorum flore vegaetaret, tamen adeo ingenii facundia vigeat quoad altero fratre non probitate sed aetate diceretur secundus.'

<sup>286</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 82, p. 114: 'Qui venientes in presentia dominorum Petri ducis scilicet et Ottonis itemque ducis filii eius'. Although this charter is not dated, its editor believes that this occurred in 1005. Given that Otto and not Iohannes is mentioned, this probably means that Petrus Ursoylus II's first son had already died (likely in 1007).

<sup>287</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 32: 'Eo namque tempore Gradensis civitas, quae totius novae Venetiae metropolis fore dignoscitur, vetustate ex maxima parte consumpta videbatur. Quam praedictus princeps ab ipso fundamine ad propugnaculorum usque sumitatem munitissime renovavit.'

<sup>288</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 74: 'Circa haec tempora prelibatus Petrus dux pro animae suae remedio mille quinquaginta libras denariorum solatio tocuis sue patriae Veneticis donavit ceptique palatii opus ad unguem perduxit, ubi inter cetera decoritatis opera dedalico instrumento capellam construere fecit, quam non modo marmoreo verum aureo mirifice comsit ornatu.'

Torcello, Petrus Ursoylus II ordered the repairs of the Church of St Maria.<sup>289</sup> He had two houses built, one at Grado and the other at Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>290</sup> Petrus Ursoylus II donated some estates between *Clugia minor* and Conche to an unknown monastery (probably the nearby St Michael of Brondolo) at an unknown date.<sup>291</sup> The relationships with the churchmen were not always harmonious. In 999/1003 Pope Sylvester II sent Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Patriarch Vitalis III Candianus a letter that reprimanded them, because the Venetian ecclesiastics were nicolaites and simoniacs and conducted business like laymen, and invited them to organize a synod in order to 'extirpate' these sins.<sup>292</sup> John the Deacon does not state when Petrus Ursoylus II died, or the length of his rule in his seemingly incomplete chronicle. The last event which John reports occurred in 1008, the likely date of Petrus Ursoylus II's death. Despite John's description of internal peace, the first years of Petrus Ursoylus II's rule were not very peaceful. In a 998 document, a group of Venetians swore an oath to the duke that they would never again provoke the regularly occurring disorders that plagued the Ducal Palace.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>289</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 78: 'In cuius ordinacionis exordio Petrus dux et preclarus suus genitor totum sanctae Mariae domum et ecclesiam iam pene vetustate consumptam recreare studiosissime fecit'.

<sup>290</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 32: 'Eo namque tempore Gradensis civitas ... domumque propriam in ea iuxta occidentalem turrim edificare fecit ... Apud Civitatem quidem novam, quae vocatur Eracliana, pulchrae imaginis domum una cum capella ipso eodemque tempore componere fecit'.

<sup>291</sup> Duke Otto Ursoylus stated this in 1024. *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 107: 'Octo divina favente gratia dux ... tam in Clugia minore quam in totis finibus usque ad casas de Conca, quod iam dictus defunctus pater meus pro offerationis carta dedit a prenominato Dei monasterio'. Cf. Castagnetti, *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II, 56.

<sup>292</sup> *Italia Pontificia*, vol. VII, Pars II, nos 26, 67–68, pp. 18, 50.

<sup>293</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 81, pp. 161–65.



## APPENDIX 3: CO-RULERS

### **Iohannes (795–797)**

Son of Duke Mauricius (764–797). Iohannes was captured in the early 770s during the Venetian campaign in Istria against the Lombards.<sup>1</sup> He became co-ruler in the thirty-first year of his father's rule<sup>2</sup> (c. 795) and, two years later, at his father's death, he became duke.<sup>3</sup>

### **Mauricius (after 797–805)**

Son of Duke Iohannes. After Mauricius's appointment as co-ruler,<sup>4</sup> his father sent him with a fleet against the Patriarch of Grado, Iohannes and, obeying his orders, Mauricius killed the patriarch.<sup>5</sup> Mauricius left Venice with his father in

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'Dehinc, cum triginta et uno anno ducatus dignitatem gubernaret, iam effectus senex, populo interpellante, Iohannem suum filium honoris sui habere consortem complacuit'.

<sup>3</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'duobus postmodum annis cum sobole extitit et sic ultimum in pace finivit diem. Praeterea cum essent anni a Domini incarnatione octigenti viginti tres, Iohannes, Mauricii antedicti filius, honoris fastigium apud eandem insulam adorsus est gubernare'. The date is obviously wrong.

<sup>4</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'Extitit quidem sibi filius, Mauricius nomine, cui octavo decimo anno sui ducatus eiusdem dignitatis societatem concessit'. John the Deacon made some chronological mistakes, as Mauricius ruled for about eight years.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 22: 'Anno vero vigesimo tercio ducatus predicti Iohannis, comperta occasione, suum filium Mauricium navali exercitu ad Gradensem urbem, ut domnum Iohannem, sanctissimum patriarcham, interficeret, destinavit. Ubi illuc pervenit, paternis iussionibus optemperare studens, eundem sanctissimum virum crudeliter interfecit'.

805, following the election of Obellierius as duke at Treviso by some opponents of Duke Iohannes. He went to *Francia* while Duke Iohannes fled to Mantua; they never returned to Venice.<sup>6</sup>

### Beatus (805–810/811)

Brother of Duke Obellierius and co-ruler Valentinus. Beatus was appointed co-ruler shortly after Obellierius became duke of Venice in 805.<sup>7</sup> At the end of that same year, Beatus accompanied his brother to the court of Charlemagne who had decided to bring the Duchy of Venice within his sphere of influence.<sup>8</sup> When Obellierius chose to side with the Byzantines, Beatus went to Constantinople to hand over some prisoners to the Byzantine emperor who granted him the title of *hypatos*.<sup>9</sup> Beatus and his brothers led the Venetian army against King Pippin, Charlemagne's son, who attempted to take possession of Venice in 810, and forced him to withdraw.<sup>10</sup> Following the arrival of a Byzantine fleet to the Venetian duchy in 810/811, the Venetians deposed Obellierius and Beatus

<sup>6</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio, ibique non diutius degentes, consilio illorum ammoniti qui in Venetia morabantur, Obellierium tribunum ducem elegerunt. Quo Iohannes et Mauricius duces comperto, adtriti timoratione, fuga lapsi sunt. Alter illorum Franciam, id est Mauricius, alter vero Mantuam adivit, ubi adeo commorati sunt, ut neuter illorum Veneciam rediret, sed illic diem clausurunt extremum'.

<sup>7</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Tunc hisdem Obellierius audacter Veneciam intravit. Qui cum devote et honorifice a populo susceptus esset, suum fratrem, videlicet Beatum nomine, dignitate fecit sibi socium'.

<sup>8</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, pp. 120–21: 'Statim post natalem Domini venerunt Willeri et Beatus duces Venetiae necnon et Paulus dux Iaderae atque Donatus eiusdem civitatis episcopus legati Dalmatarum ad praesentiam imperatoris cum magnis donis. Et facta est ibi ordinatione ab imperatore de ducibus et populis tam Venetiae quam Dalmatiae'.

<sup>9</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Beatus vero, frater eius, cum predicto Niceta Constantinopolim ivit secumque deferens Veneticorum obsides et Christoform episcopum et Felicem tribunum, quos augustus exilio dampnavit ... Tunc Beatus dux, qui cum Niceta patricio Constantinopolim ivit, in Veneciam reversus, ab imperatore honore ypati condecoratus est'.

<sup>10</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 27: 'Interea foedus quod Veneticorum populus olim cum Italico rege habebat, illo tempore, Pipino agente rege, disruptum est et hisdem rex ingentem exercitum Longobardorum ad Veneticorum provinciam capiendam promovit. Qui cum magna difficultate portus, qui dividunt insularum littora, pertransisset, tandem ad quendam locum, qui Albiola vocatur, pervenit. Nulla ratione in antea pertendere gressum valuit, ibique duces, stipati magna Veneticorum expeditione, eundem regem audacter aggressi sunt et divinitus datum est Veneticis de inimicis triumphum, sicque predictus rex confusus recessit'.

and sent them into exile: the former to Constantinople and the latter to Zara/Zadar.<sup>11</sup>

### Valentinus (806/810)

Brother of Duke Obellierius and co-ruler Beatus. Valentinus was appointed co-ruler at an unknown date between 806 and 810.<sup>12</sup>

### Iohannes / Iohanaci (810s–820s)

He was Duke Agnellus's son. His father nominated him as co-ruler, but later changed his mind, deposed Iohannes, and replaced him with his other son, Iustinianus.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, Iohannes, who had been exiled to Zara/Zadar, fled to Sclavenia and then to Bergamo. At the duke's request, Emperor Louis the Pious returned Iohannes to Agnellus, who then exiled him to Constantinople.<sup>14</sup> Iohannes went back to Venice in c. 828 and the duke of Venice, his brother Iustinianus, appointed him as co-ruler.<sup>15</sup> In 829, Iohannes witnessed his broth-

<sup>11</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 29: 'Hac quidem tempestate nuntius Constantinopolitanus, nomine Ebersapius, Venetiam adivit et Veneticorum consilio et virtute hoc peregit, ut utrique duces et dignitatem et patriam amitterent; unus, id est Obelierius, Constantinopolim, alter vero Lateram petiit'.

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Deinde Obelierius et Beatus duces Valentinum, tertium illorum fratrem, in dignitate sui ducatus habere consortem voluerunt'.

<sup>13</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos, unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit; alterum vero, id est Iohannes, ducem fieri promovit. Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Constantinopoli ad propriam repedavit. Dolens fratrem suum in honore fastigiatum, contempsit adire palatium, sed in sancti Severi ecclesia una cum sua coniuge hospitatus est. Pater namque eius non diu filii molestationem et absentiam passus fuit, quoniam valde illum diligebat, interdixit honorem Iohanni et, expulso a patria, apud Lateram civitatem exilio retrusus est. Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus'.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Unde factum est ut Iohannes, qui apud Lateram exulabat, fuga lapsus, primum Sclaveniam, deinde ad Italiam, ad Bergami civitatem, pervenit. Interea pater et frater, hoc audientes, miserunt nuncios imperatori Lodovico efflagitantes, ut sibi redderet filium fuga lapsum. Imperator vero, libenter illorum precibus optemperans, reddidit sibi fugitivum, quem absque mora Constantinopolim una cum uxore destinaverunt'.

<sup>15</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 38: 'Eodem quoque tempore Iohannes, Agnelli antedicti ducis filius et Iustiniani frater, qui exul apud Constantinopolim extitit, ad Venetiam reversus est et, favente sibi Iustiniano fratre, dux effectus est'.

er's will — in this document he holds the title of 'senator' (probably a mistake for 'senior') and is also called Iohanaci —<sup>16</sup> and became duke upon his death.<sup>17</sup>

### Iustinianus (811–828)

He was the son of Duke Agnellus. At the beginning of his father's rule, Iustinianus went to Constantinople, where he was awarded the title of *ypatus*. Meanwhile, Duke Agnellus appointed his other son, Iohannes, as co-ruler. When Iustinianus went back to Venice, he felt deeply disappointed by his father's decision and refused to see him. Agnellus then changed his mind and decided to depose Iohannes and nominate Iustinianus as co-ruler. He subsequently raised Iustinianus's son, Agnellus, to the same rank.<sup>18</sup> In 819, Iustinianus and his father donated an estate, where the Chapel of St Hilarius was later built, to the abbot of St Servolo.<sup>19</sup> Iustinianus became duke after Duke Agnellus's death.<sup>20</sup> He was co-ruler for seventeen years, while his own rule lasted only a year.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, pp. 23–24: '† Iohannes in hunc testamentum ex voluntate domno Iustiniano ipato manu mea subscripsi ... Id est Iohannes senator et germanus domni Iustiniani ipati'. The suggestion to correct *senator* into *senior* is in *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 53, p. 99.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Mortuo quidem Iustiniano duce, qui una cum patre gubernavit ducatum annis decem et septem et post mortem patris unius anni spacio, dignitas in suo fratre remansit'.

<sup>18</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos, unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit; alterum vero, id est Iohannes, ducem fieri promovit. Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Constantinopoli ad propriam repedavit. Dolens fratrem suum in honore fastigiatum, contempsit adire palatium, sed in sancti Severi ecclesia una cum sua coniuge hospitatus est. Pater namque eius non diu filii molestationem et abscentiam passus fuit, quoniam valde illum diligebat, interdixit honorem Iohanni et, expulso a patria, apud lateram civitatem exilio retrusus est. Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus'.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 44, pp. 72–74.

<sup>20</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 37: 'mortuo Agnello duce, qui decem et octo annis Veneticorum ducatum gubernavit, ducatus dignitas in suo filio Iustiniano remansit'.

<sup>21</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 39: 'Mortuo quidem Iustiniano duce, qui una cum patre gubernavit ducatum annis decem et septem et post mortem patris unius anni spacio, dignitas in suo fratre remansit'.

### **Agnellus († early 820s)**

Son of Duke Iustinianus. Agnellus became co-ruler shortly after his father Iustinianus was appointed co-ruler.<sup>22</sup> Agnellus died in Constantinople where he had been sent as an ambassador.<sup>23</sup> This probably occurred shortly after 820, as the chronicler John the Deacon narrates that Agnellus went to the capital of the Byzantine Empire after Michael II became emperor (820).<sup>24</sup>

### **Iohannes (late 830s – early 860s, † 863)**

Son of Duke Petrus. Iohannes was appointed as co-ruler shortly after his father's election in 836.<sup>25</sup> Iohannes led two expeditions against the Slavs in 839. He was able to make a peace agreement with the Slavic Prince, Muisclavus, and the *iudex Marianorum*, Drosaicus, during the first expedition. However, in the second, the Slavs, commanded by Diuditus, vanquished him.<sup>26</sup> He signed the will of the Bishop of Olivolo, Ursus, in 853.<sup>27</sup> Probably around 856,<sup>28</sup> Emperor Louis II met Duke Petrus and his son Iohannes in the monastery of St Michael at Brondolo. On that occasion, Louis II stood as godfather for Iohannes's child.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: 'Tunc satisfacere per omnia voluit Iustiniano suo filio; non solum ipsum sed etiam Agnellum, suum nepotem, eiusdem Iustiniani natum, consortem sui fecit ducatus'.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Agnellus vero predictus dux legationis causa suum nepotem et aequivocum Constantinopolim misit ibique mortuus fuit'.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 32.

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 49: 'Cui successit quidam nobilissimus, Petrus nomine, qui Iohannem suum filium consortem in honore habere voluit'.

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 49: 'Iste namque tercio sui ducatus anno Sclaveniam bellicosos navibus expugnaturum adivit. Sed ubi ad locum qui vocatur sancti Martini curtis perveniret, pacem cum illorum principe Muisclavo nomine firmavit. Deinde pertransiens ad Narrantanas insulas cum Drosaico, Marianorum iudice, similiter fedus instituit, licet minime valeret et sic postmodum ad Veneciam reversus est. Ubi diu commorari eum minime licuit. Sed denuo preparavit exercitum adversum Diuditum Sclavum ubi plus quam centum Veneticis interfecti fuerunt et absque triumpho reversus est'.

<sup>27</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 10: '† Iohannes dilectus eius filius gloriosus dux Veneciarum in hoc testamentum rogatus ad Ursus episcopus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>28</sup> In 856 Louis II renewed the pact between Venice and the Empire.

<sup>29</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 57: 'Anno quidem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ab incarnatione [...] Lodovicus Longobardorum rex una cum conunge sua ad locum, qui Brundulus vocatur, veniens, apud sancti Michaelis monasterium ab utroque duce honorifice susceptus est. Ubi cum triduo simul comanerent, ad dilectionis seu pacis vinculum corroborandum Iohannes dux suam de sacro baptismo sobolem regem promovit ut susciperet. Quo peracto, rex cum conunge

Iohannes died in 863, a year before his father's murder.<sup>30</sup>

### **Iohannes (875/876–881)**

Son of Duke Ursus II (864–881); Iohannes probably had a son, named Petrus, who is mentioned in a document dated to 880.<sup>31</sup> He was appointed as co-ruler at an unknown date — the chronicler John the Deacon places this event after the beginning of the dispute between Duke Ursus II and the patriarch of Grado (875/876) —<sup>32</sup> and became duke upon his father's death.<sup>33</sup> During his term as co-ruler, he and his father forbade the trading of slaves.<sup>34</sup>

### **Petrus (881/887)**

Son of Duke Ursus II and brother of Duke Iohannes III.<sup>35</sup> At an unknown date Duke Iohannes III (881–887) fell gravely ill and appointed his brother Petrus as his successor. Iohannes however recovered and decided to give Petrus the title of co-ruler instead. Petrus died shortly afterwards at the age of about twenty-five.<sup>36</sup>

Italiam, duces vero ad pallacium reversi sunt.

<sup>30</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Interea cum essent anni ab incarnatione nostri Redemptoris [...] Iohannes dux diem finivit suppreum et ducatus in suo genitore solo remansit. Qui uno anno post filii funus, dum in sancti Zacharie monasterio diem celebraret festum, a pessimis hominibus, exiente eo peracto vespero de ecclesia, insons crudeliter interemptus est'.

<sup>31</sup> *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 1, p. 27: 'Signum manus Petri filii Ioannis ducis'.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 14: 'Eo tempore domnus Ursus dux Iohannem filium suum in dignitate sibi consortem fecit'.

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 27: 'Mortuo vero hac tempestate domno Urso duce, dignitas in Iohanne suo filio remansit'.

<sup>34</sup> This information comes from a document of 960 in which Duke Petrus Candianus IV prohibits the slave trade. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 70: 'Cum precedentibus temporibus in hac nostra provincia mancipiorum captivitas fieret a nostris, ob hoc peccatum multe tribulationes fierent et nobis evenirent, domnus Ursus, bonus dux, una cum Iohanne filio suo, hanc matitiam diluerent et statuerent ita ut, nullus ex nobis mancipia venderet'.

<sup>35</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: 'domnus Ursus dux, dum quattuor haberet filios, id est Iohannem, Badovarium, Ursum et Petrum, omnes ducatus dignitate, praeter Badovarium, claruerunt'.

<sup>36</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 30: 'Domnus siquidem Iohannes dux, corporis infirmitate detentus, Petrum minimum suum fratrem, populo adclamante, successorem sibi elegit. Quem postea, cum convaleret, habere eum consortem voluit; ipse vero infirmitate correptus, non diu cum fratre manens, expiravit sepultusque fuit iuxta predictum Badovarium fratrem suum; qui

### **Ursus (881/887)**

Son of Duke Ursus II and brother of Duke Iohannes III.<sup>37</sup> At an unknown date, following the death of his brother Petrus, Duke Iohannes III (881–887) appointed his other brother Ursus as co-ruler,<sup>38</sup> yet Ursus voluntarily abdicated this office shortly thereafter.<sup>39</sup>

### **Petrus Candianus (940s/950s)**

Son of Duke Petrus Candianus III (942–959). He was nominated as co-ruler at an unknown date. Petrus Candianus had a disagreement with his father for unspecified reasons. Their poor relationship resulted in the formation of two opposing factions that clashed in the square of Rivoalto. Petrus Candianus III's supporters won; consequently, his son was forced to leave Venice.<sup>40</sup> Petrus sought assistance from Guy, son of the King of Italy, Berengar II. Guy presented the Venetian to his father, who extended hospitality towards Petrus and made him participate in an expedition against Spoleto and Camerino. As a reward for the aid that he had given on this occasion, the Italian sovereign permitted him to take his revenge on the Venetians. Petrus used six ships taken from Ravenna to assault several Venetian merchant vessels.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, his father

non plus annorum quam viginti quinque fuerat.

<sup>37</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: 'domnus Ursus dux, dum quattuor haberet filios, id est Iohannem, Badovarium, Ursum et Petrum, omnes ducatus dignitate, praeter Badovarium, claruerunt'.

<sup>38</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 31: 'Prelibatus Iohannes dux alterum germanum suum, Ursum nomine, sibi consortem fecit'.

<sup>39</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 32: 'Deinde cum domnus Iohannes dux adhuc infirmitate detentus, frater eius ducatum rennueret, Venetici ducem sibi constituerunt, Petrum videlicet, cognomento Candianum'.

<sup>40</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 8: 'Antedictus quidem Petrus dux tres habuit filios, quorum unum, nomine Petrum, populo suggerente consortem sibi elegit. Qui paterna monita flocci pendens, adversus eum insurgere temptavit, adeo ut quadam die utrumque parcium milites ad pugnam peragendam in Rivoalto foro convenirent. Sed dum infirmo et vetulo patri maior pars populi obtemperaret filiumque perdere vellet, tandem pater misericordia motus, ne illum occideret rogare caepit. Tamen volens populo satisfacere, extra patriam illum exire iussit. Deinde omnes tam episcopi quam cuncto clero cum omni populo, facta conspiratione, iuraverunt quoniam nec in vita nec post hobitum patris eum ducem haberent'.

<sup>41</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 9: 'Is autem Petrus, qui patria pulsus fuerat, comitante illo Georgio diacono et Gregorio quodam presbitero una cum duodecim propriis servis ad Hwidonem marchionem, Berengarii regis filium, pervenit. Qui eum devote suscipiens, patri Berengario regi presentavit; a quo similiter cum honore susceptus, ut secum ad Spoletensem seu

died in 959. This happened two months and fourteen days after he had driven his son out of Venice. The Venetians then decided to recall Petrus to Venice and elect him as their duke.<sup>42</sup>

### **Iohannes Ursoylus (1001–c.1007)**

First son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria.<sup>43</sup> Iohannes's wife was Maria, the daughter of the Byzantine Patrician Argirus, whom he married in Constantinople at the beginning of the eleventh century;<sup>44</sup> the couple had a son, named

Camerini marchiam debellandam properaret invitatus est. Qui rediens, accepta a rege licentia de Veneticis vindicandi, Ravennam adiit, ubi cuiusdam relatione didicit septem Veneticorum naves in porto qui vocatur Primarius fore, quae negotiis honerate Fanensem urbem proficisci disposuerant. Tum sex Ravennatum navibus adeptis, contra easdem hostiliter irruens, eas absque obstaculo comprehendit sicque Ravennam reversus est'.

<sup>42</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 10: 'Interea mortuus est Petrus dux, pater ipsius, qui decem et septem annis rexerat ducatum. Post filii quidem eiectionem non plus quam duobus mensibus et quattuordecim diebus vixisse fertur. Anno igitur incarnationis domini nostri Ihesu Christi nongentesimo quinquagesimo nono omnis Veneticorum multitudo una cum episcopis et abbatibus convenere et sacramenta oblivioni tradentes cum trecentis pene navibus preparatis Ravennam, ut supradictum Petrum in ducatus honorem restituerent, properarunt. Quem suscipientes cum tali apparatu ad palatium duxerunt sacramentorumque fide principem iterum recrearunt'.

<sup>43</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Nomina quorum ut rite recordor exprimere libet. Illorum primus herile sortitus est nomen qui forma et viribus bene respondebat suis natalibus'.

<sup>44</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 71–72: 'Hoc quoque tempore Petrus famosus dux, sedula petitione a Vassyllo et Constantino imperatoribus coactus, Iohannem ducem, suam dilectam prolem, ad regiam urbem causa coniugii delegavit. Quem imperatores dum benigne susciperent, cuiusdam nobilissimi patricii filiam Argiropoli nomine, imperiali editam stirpe, illi desponsare decreverunt et, ut tante femine, imperatorum videlicet neptis, copulationis dies acceleraret, prefatus dux una cum puella imperiali decreto in quadam capella convenire permissi sunt ibique ab eiusdem urbis pastore sacre benedictionis munus ab imperatoribus aureas diademas suis capitibus perceperunt. Quibus dextera utroque imperatore superposita manu, aulam qua convivantium cetus manere videbatur, tali decoritate pervenerunt. Predicti namque imperatores tam egregiae ac iocunde hunc peragere thalamum satagebant, ut triduo convivantium gaudiis haud defuerunt ipsi familiares convive. Hoc tali in palacio quod Yconomium nuncupatur peracto ordine, quisque eorum, muneribus receptis, retrogradus recessit. Novicius vero dux cum sua venusta sponsa aput pallacium, quod iure dotalicii nuper adquisierat, degere disposuit. [72.] Cui Vassilius imperator iniungens monuit ne ab urbe discederet interim de Bulgarorum finibus, quos valida expugnando manu agredi temptabat, Dei auxilio reverteretur. Cuius monitis dux acquiescens, promte eius adventum prestolabatur. Ipso autem redeunte, patriciatus officii dignitate eundem sublimavit ducem; Ottonem suum puerulum, qui aderat, fratrem muneribus tantum honoravit. Dehinc dux sponsali dote, id est diverse fortune copiiis, simulque imperialibus

Vassilius.<sup>45</sup> His father sent him to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople at around the mid-990s for unnamed reasons.<sup>46</sup> Iohannes was appointed co-ruler at the age of eighteen. John the Deacon narrates that this happened in 1004, during the tenth ruling year of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>47</sup> There is, however, a mistake as Petrus Ursoylus II became duke in 991. The correct date is probably 1001. Iohannes is first mentioned as co-ruler in November 1002 when German King Henry II renewed the privileges of the Venetians in the Italian kingdom.<sup>48</sup> As John the Deacon reports that Iohannes had been co-regent duke for six years when he and his wife died during a plague,<sup>49</sup> it is likely that this happened in 1007.

donis acceptis, licitum veniendi ad propria impetravit. Nam parentum conventus pernobilem puellam regionem ad exteram quasi exulem euntem plorantes haud deerant. Dux itaque pro votis omnia consecutus, navim cum spectabili sponsa ascendens, equoreas sulcare procellas suis imperavit. Cui Grecorum seu aliarum gentium incole ubique usque ad patriam non denegabant impertiri obsequia.

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 73: 'Domna vero Maria greca ductrix non post plures dies puerum, Constantinopolim genitum, Venetiae protulit natum; quem Petrus eximius dux de sacro baptismatis lavacro suscipiens, Vassilium ob avunculi sui imperatoris nomen imposuit.'

<sup>46</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 42: 'Per haec quidem tempora antedictus dux Iohannem suum filium Constantinopolim destinavit, quem imperator non solum diversis muneravit donis, verum etiam aegregiis honoribus sublimavit.'

<sup>47</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 65: 'Anno quidem incarnationis Redemptoris nostri millesimo quarto, ducatus vero domni Petri Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum ducis decimo, Iohannes eiusdem ducis egregia proles genitoris effectus est consors dignitate. Quem dum tertia etas octavo decimo anno ephebum foveret, nimirum paterno ingenio et probitate vigeat. Qui pii parentis adeo obtemperare studeat moribus ut sub gemino regimine omnis patria uno maneret foedere.'

<sup>48</sup> *Heinrici II. et Arduini diplomata*, no. 24, p. 27: 'Henricus divina favente clementia rex ... qualiter venerabilis dux Veneticorum et Dalmatianorum nomine Petrus una cum filio suo Iohanne similiter duce.'

<sup>49</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 75–76: 'Eodem itaque tempore stella cometis, cuius indicium humanum semper pronunciat flagitium, in meridiano climate apparens, quam maxima per omnes Italiae seu Veneciae fines pestilentia subsecuta est. In qua utriusque sexus humane conditionis nonnulli inopinata morte ceciderunt, inter quos domna Maria greca ductrix nec non Iohannes egregius vir suus, sedecim dierum numero in sancti Zacharie monasterio, pro dolor, uno clauduntur mausoleo. [76.] De quorum funere non modo mesti genitores vel fraterna societas deplorabant, verum omnis patria lacrimis et dolore tabescebat. Fuerunt namque omni probitate in tantum famosi ut Deo et hominibus ambo boni complacerent; sex annorum spacio tantum sub patris regimine Veneciae prefuit populo.'

### Otto Ursoylus (c. 1007–1008)

He was the third son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II (991–1008) and Maria.<sup>50</sup> His name was changed from Petrus to Otto when Otto III acted as his godfather in Verona probably in 996.<sup>51</sup> The young son of the Venetian duke met again his godfather in Ravenna in 997/998 when the German sovereign returned to Italy to crush a revolt in Rome.<sup>52</sup> He went to Constantinople with his elder brother Iohannes for the latter's wedding with the Byzantine Maria.<sup>53</sup> At age fourteen, Otto was appointed as his father's co-ruler, after his brother, and previous co-ruler, Iohannes, had died, probably in 1007.<sup>54</sup> He was at Petrus Ursoylus II's side when the latter granted the inhabitants of Piove di Sacco

<sup>50</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Tercius est ordine Otto, predictus puerulus, patris qui constat dignitate equivocus'.

<sup>51</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 34, 37: 'Dux itaque audiens Ottonem regem ad Italiam venturum, pacem cum praedictae marchiae populo facere diferabatur. Tunc suos nuncios denuo Teutonicam <regionem> mittere disposuit, qui inter Alpium anfractus regem iam ad Ausonia venientem repperierunt. A quo honorifice suscepti, [...] suis dux inimicis intulerat libenter audivit. Insuper promisit numquam quolibet modo illum constringere ad pacem faciendam interim ipse vellet. Deinde antequam Italiae planiciem peteret, eundem ducem dulci praece rogando demandavit ut suum natum, adhuc christianae fidei confirmatione carentem, Veronam sine aliqua mitteret mora; quod dux suorum fidelium consilio facere adquevit. Puero quidem Verona pervento, officiose a rege susceptus est. Quem chrismatis unctione propriis amplexibus coartatum fecit munire et, amisso paterno nomine, Otto, id est suus aequivocus, nuncupatus est. [37] Otto vero, praedicti domni Petri ducis filius, diversis muneribus a rege foeneratus, ad Veneciam reppedavit'.

<sup>52</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 43: 'Qui ex Ticinensi urbe Ravennam descendere navigio disponens, Petro suo dilecto compatri, Veneticorum duci, rogando demandavit, quatinus Ottonem suum filium ultra Ferariense castrum sibi obvium mittere non recusaret. Quod dux libenter agere volens, filium cum decoratis navibus misit, inter quas una quantitate et pulchritudine excellebat navis, quam imperator unam cum puero ascendens, Ravennam usque pervenit. Ubi non diu manens, ducis puerum donorum copiisque ditatus ad Veneciam redire dimisit'.

<sup>53</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 72: 'Ottonem suum puerulum, qui aderat, fratrem muneribus tantum honoravit'.

<sup>54</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 76: 'Sed ut tantis meroris quoddam presidium adesset consolationis, pari consensu Venetici interpellantes, domni Petri principis alterum natum, scilicet Ottonem, regalem puerum, ducatus dignitate sublimavere. Qui quamquam terrena etate quattuordecim annorum flore vegaetaret, tamen adeo ingenii facundia vigeat quoad altero fratre non probitate sed aetate diceretur secundus'.

some trade exemptions in 1007/1008.<sup>55</sup> Upon his father's death, in 1008/1009, Otto became duke of Venice.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 82, p. 114: 'Qui venientes in presentia dominorum Petri ducis scilicet et Ottonis itemque ducis filii eius.' Although this charter is not dated, its editor believes that this occurred in 1005. Given that Otto and not Iohannes is mentioned, this probably means that Petrus Ursoylus II's first son was already dead which likely occurred in 1007.

<sup>56</sup> Andreas Dandulus, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 203: 'Otho Ursoyolo dux, defuncto patre, preesse cepit anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo VIII'.



## APPENDIX 4: VENETIAN RULERS AND CO-RULERS HOLDING HONORIFIC BYZANTINE TITLES<sup>1</sup>

### **Ypatus**

Ursus (726–737)

*Dux*.<sup>2</sup>

Iubianus (740–741)

*Magister militum*.<sup>3</sup>

Mauricius (764–797)

*Imperialis consul* (= *Ypatus*); *Dux*.

In a letter dated to 770–771, Mauricius is described as *consul et imperialis dux huius Venetiarum provinciae*.<sup>4</sup>

Beatus (805–810/811)

Co-ruler.<sup>5</sup>

Iustinianus (811–829)

Co-ruler; *Dux*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The titles are organized in ascending order of importance.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 17: ‘ducem, videlicet Deusdedem, sepedicti Ursonis ypati filium’.

<sup>3</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 11: ‘Postmodum quartus ex is habebatur Iubianus nomine, ypatus’.

<sup>4</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: ‘Tunc Beatus dux, qui cum Niceta patricio Costantinopolim ivit, in Veneciam reversus, ab imperatore honore ypati condecoratus est’.

<sup>6</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 31: ‘Prelibatus siquidem Agnellus dux, cum duos haberet natos,

**Spatharius**

Obellierius (805–810/811)

*Dux*.<sup>7</sup>

Petrus (836–864)

*Dux*.<sup>8</sup>**Protospatharius**

Ursus II (864–881)

*Dux*.<sup>9</sup>

Petrus Tribunus (887–911)

*Dux*.<sup>10</sup>

Petrus Badavarius Particiacus (939–942)

*Dux*. He was awarded the title of *protospatharius* shortly after his father, Ursus Particiacus, became duke in 911.<sup>11</sup>

unus illorum, id est Iustinianus, Constantinopolim destinavit. Quem imperator honorifice suscipiens, ipati honorem sibi largivit ... Dehinc autem non post longum tempus Iustinianus ipatus Costantinopoli ad propriam repedavit'. *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 23: 'Ego Iustinianus imperialis ipatus et humilis dux provincie Veneciarum'.

<sup>7</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Obelerius siquidem dux per Nicetam patricium spatharii honorem suscepit'.

<sup>8</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 50: 'Hac denique tempestate Theodosius patricius Constantinopoli ad Veneciam veniens, spatharii honoris investituram Petro contulit duci'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 56, p. 109: 'Petrus, dux ac spatarius Veneticotum'.

<sup>9</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 22: 'Eo videlicet tempore domnus Ursus dux ab imperialibus internunciis protospatharius effectus, donis amplissimis ditatus est'. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 15, p. 20: 'Ursus ... imperialis prothospatarius et Veneticorum dux'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, p. 34: 'nos Petro, Domino protegente, imperiali protospatario et Veneticorum duce'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 39: 'sicque Leo imperator protospatharii honorem sibi iniunxit'.

<sup>11</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: 'qui mox ut dux effectus est, suum filium, Petrum nomine, Constantinopolim ad Leonem imperatorem destinavit; quem imperator cum honore suscipiens, protospatharium fecit'.

Petrus Candianus II (931–939)

*Dux*.<sup>12</sup> In a letter to the German king, Henry (919–936), this duke defines himself as ‘imperialis consul et senator atque dux Veneticorum’.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps this was a way to translate the Byzantine title in Latin for a German audience.

### Patricius

Iohannes Ursoylus (1001–c. 1007)

Co-ruler.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 46: ‘Antedictus vero Petrus Candianus dux suum dilectum equivocum filium Constantinopolim ad Constantinum et Romano imperatores transmisit, a quibus protospatharius effectus’. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 35, pp. 52–53: ‘dominus Petrus, imperialis protospatarius, et gloriosus dux Veneticorum’.

<sup>13</sup> *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, p. 157.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 71: ‘patriciatus officii dignitate eundem sublimavit ducem’.



## APPENDIX 5: TRIBUNES

Andradus (Andradi), Petrus (983)	cata Trazamundo, Basilius (829)
Andreas (887)	Constantius (770/772)
Antoninus (sixth/seventh century)	Dimittrius (819)
Armatus (880)	Dominicus (ref 829)
Basilius (834/835)	Felix (beginning of the ninth century)
Boniçus (ref 829)	Iohannaci (819)
Bonus (827/828)	Iohanaci (829) Son of Tribune Dominicus.
Carosus (829, 834/835)	Iohannes (834/835) (he is probably Iohannes Marturius)
cato Barbalata, Donatus (ref 829)	
cato Barbalata, Grauso (ref 829)	Marturius, Iohannes (834/835)
cata Lupanicus, Deusdedi (853)	Obellierius (805)
cata Magistracus, Iohannes (853)	Pascalicus, Dulciolus (ref 829)
cata Marcianico, Iohannes (ref 829)	Pascalicus, Vitalis (ref 829)
cata Mastalicus, Dominicus (853)	Petrus (ref 829)

Primollus, Johannes (ref 829)

Primollus, Laurencius (ref 829)

Rosaly (ref 829)

Sgiros, Dedus/Deusdetus (ref 853)

Sgiros, Fuscarus (Fuscari) (853)

Vigilius (880)

*5a. Tribunes in Origo (editio prima), pp. 46–47*

Adoaldi	Calvi
Albini	Campoli
Gauli/Andreadi	Candiani
Apoli/Trundominicus	Capuani
Armadi	Carosi
Aulipati	Casanici
Bachi/ Benati	Centranici
Badovarii/Particiaci	Cerboni
Barbadici	Cyllienci/Genuo
Barbolani	Cynopi
Barrini	Cirusi
Viliarenes et Barçiçessi et Mastalici	Coloprini
Bausi/Bulçani	Contareni
Kalosi/Caysoli	Scuvaculus/Corvatoras
Benadi	Daneus
Bachi/Benati	Darbores; <i>see</i> Magadisssi
Bonoaldi	Daspinales
Bradani	Fauni/Deodones
Bragadini	Pictores/Deomarci
Bausi/Bulçani	Faletri
Calbani	Fauni/Deodones
Calpini	Flabianici

Flabiani	Mauri
Gardolici	Mauroceni
Gatilesi	Mausani, qui Vasauni apelati sunt
Gauli, qui Andreadi apelati sunt	Menguni
Genuo; see Cyllienci	Miralachius
Glusuni	Moysolini
Gratici	Mortetellis
Gursoni	Noelles
Ianaseni	Particiaci, qui Badovarii apellati sunt
Ianobri	Parissi
Kalosi, qui Caysoli apelati sunt	Pictores, qui Deomarci apelati sunt
Liadi	Pipini
Luduyci	Piçanus
Lupanici	Ronciachi
Lugnani	Rosii
Macigni, qui Marcelli apellati sunt	Regini
Magadissi, Darbores apelati sunt	Saraionis
Maragnoni	Salviani
Marcuni	Sapini
Mercurius sartor	Saponarii
Marisagi	Sarçini
Masuni	Scuvaculus: 'Scuvaculus, qui Corvatortas apelantur'
Mastalici	
Matadori	Secredi

Sgaudarii

Silvii

Syrani

Stornati

Talarici

Tanolici

Theodosii

Tyeri

Tornarici

Trundominicus: 'Apoli, Trundominicus apelati'

Ursioli

Valeressi

Vasauni; see Mausani

Vicencii

Vidilici

Vigluni

Viliarenes et Barçiçessi et Mastalici

Vitrignaci

Zopulus

*5c. Individuals with Tribunus as Likely First Name or Family Name*

Dominicus Tribunus; father of Duke Petrus Tribunus (ninth century)

Dominicus Tribunus; father of Dominicus (900/1094)

Petrus Tribunus; father of the Bishop of Olivolo Petrus (ref 930s)

Petrus Tribunus (983)

Tribunus [...] (998)

Tribunus Andreadus (998)

Tribunus Menius; duke (979–991)

Tribunus Vitrinicus (982)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Pigianicus (960)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Menius (971)

Trunus (probably = Tribunus) Huillarenus (Huillareni) (1001 or 1005)

## APPENDIX 6: OTHER OFFICES AND TITLES\*

### **Actoarius**

Lautus (571/579)

*Actoarius sanctae ecclesiae Aquileiensis.*

### **Amanuensis**

Secolaris (or Seconius) (571/579)

*Lector, amanuensis, and domesticus* of St Eufemia.

### **Defensor ecclesie**

Antonius (588/589)

### **Chartularius**

[Firmi]nus (571/579)

Either *cubicularius* or *chartularius*.

### **Consiliarius of the Exarch**

Marianus; *eloquentissimus consiliarius* of the exarch (627, 642/647)

### **Cubicularius**

[Firmi]nus (571/579)

Either *cubicularius* or *chartularius*.

Sesinius (sixth century)

\* I have also included names and probable family names that refer to offices and titles.

**Domesticus**

Secularis (or Seconius) (571/579)

*Lector, amanuensis, and domesticus* of St Eufemia.

**Famulus/Famula**

Eusebia (571/579)

Iohannes (571/579)

Nonnus (571/579)

Petrus (571/579)

**Lector**

Amara (571/579)

Iohannis (571/579)

Lautus (571/579)

Martinus (571/579)

Murgio (571/579)

Secularis (or Seconius) (571/579)

*Lector, amanuensis, and domesticus* of St Eufemia.

Victorinus (571/579)

**Magister militum**

Cornicula, Felix (738–739)

Deusdedi (739–740, 742–755)

Fabriacus, Iohannes (741–742)

Iohannes (ref 824)  
Iubianus (740–741)

Leo (737–738)

Mauricius (639)

Θωμάς/Thomas? (sixth/eighth century)  
στρατηλάτης (*stratelates*); *magister militum*.

### **Miles**

Iohannis (571/579)  
*Miles de numero Cadisiano*.

Iohannis (571/579)  
*Miles de equitum Persoiustinianorum*.

Laurentius (571/579)  
*Miles de numero Tarvisiano*.

Stefanus (end of the sixth century)  
*Miles numeri Tarbisiani turmae Iustini*.

### **Patricius**

Ἀναστάσιος (= Anastasius) (seventh century).  
πατρίκιος (= *patricius*).

Iohannes Ursoylus (1001–c. 1007) Co-Ruler

Patricius, Marinus (834/835)

Patritius (841)

Patricius (853)

Patricius, Marinus (870s ref)

Patricius, Iohannes (870s)

Patricius, Leo (880)

Patricius, Marinus (ninth century)

Patricius, Petrus (982)

### Senator

Iohannes II / Iohanaci (829–833/834, 835–836)

*Dux*. Iohannes II is defined as ‘senator’ in Duke Iustinianus’s will. It has been hypothesized that this is a mistake for senior.<sup>1</sup>

Petrus Candianus II (931–939)

*Dux*. In a letter to the German king, Henry (919–36), this duke defines himself as ‘imperialis consul et senator atque dux Veneticorum’.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps this was a way to translate his Byzantine title in Latin for a German audience.

Στέφανος (= Stephanus); σιβάτορ σχολῆς αρματουρωῶν (= *sinator of scholae armaturarum*) (sixth century/beginning of the seventh century)

Senator († 875/876)

Bishop of Torcello.

Senator, Vitalis (ref 1001 or 1005)

### Stratelates

Θωμᾶς/Thomas? (sixth/eighth century)

στρατηλάτης (*stratelates*); *magister militum*.

<sup>1</sup> Ss. *Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: ‘† Iohanaci. Id est Iohannes senator et germanus domni Iustiniani ipati ex precepto \*\*\*\*\*’. The suggestion to correct *senator* into *senior* is in *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriore al Mille*, I, no. 53, p. 99. Antonio Carile, on the other hand, believes that this is a title. Carile, ‘Venezia e Bisanzio’, p. 650.

<sup>2</sup> *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, p. 157.

**Vir clarissimus**

Domninus (571/579)

Laurentius (571/579)

*Vir clarissimus palatinus.*

**Vir spectabilis**

Iohannes (second half of sixth century)

Laurentius (second half of sixth century)



## APPENDIX 7: OCCUPATIONS\*

### **Becharius**

Becharius, Ottolus (979/991)

### **Calderarius**

Faletrus, Joannes (991/1008)

### **Caligarius**

Caligarius, Bonus (ref † 978)

Domnicus (571/579)

### **Carbonarius**

Grecculus, Ioannes (979/991)

### **Fiolarius**

Fiolarius, Dominicus (982)

### **Fumarius**

Calbus, Dominicus (998)

*Fumar* (= probably a chimney sweep)

\* I have also included probable family names that refer to jobs.

**Magister**

Dimitrius (ref 982)

Maurianus (ref 824)

**Medicus**

Daneus, Joannes (998)

**Monetarius**

Barbus Monetarius, Martinus (991/1008)

Monetarius, Bezzo (998)

Monatarius, Dominicus (834/835)

Monetarius, Gregorius (991/1008)

Monetarius, Iohannes (820s)

Monetarius, Leo (979/991)

Monetarius, Michael (ref † 999)

Monetarius, Michael (999)

**Nauclerius/navalarius**

Joannes (991/1008)

*Navalarius Lombardus*

Maximus (571/579)

*Nauclerus*

Stefanus (571/579)

*Nauclerius*

**Notarius**

Caisolus, Ioannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Dimittrius (819)

*Tribunus; notarius; primicerius* of the ducal chapel

Dominicus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)

Dominicus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)

Joannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Irenianus (571/579)

Iustinus (571/579)

Marinus (971)

*Diaconus et notarius*

Paulus (571/579)

Petrus<sup>1</sup> (571/579)

Petrus<sup>2</sup> (571/579)

Petrus<sup>3</sup> (571/579)

Petrus (908)

*Subdiaconus et notarius*

Petrus (900/1094)

*Diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palatii*

Raphael (900)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Thomas (571/579)

Vitalis (982)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (983)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (991)

*Presbiter et notarius*

### **Olosericus (= merchants of silk textiles)**

Georgius (sixth century)

*Oloseri[cus or coprata]*

### **Piscator**

Piscator, Dominicus (998)

### **Saponarius**

Saponarius, Dominicus (979/991)

Saponarius, Dominicus (998)

Saponarius, Leo (ref 979/991)

### **Sartor**

Sartor, Tinus (971)

### **Scandolarius**

Scandolarius, Martinus (ref 991/1008)

Father of Martinus

Scandolarius, Martinus (991/1008)

Son of Martinus

**Scutarius**

Scutarius, Joannes (960)

**Stanarius**

Stanarius, Johannes (995)



## APPENDIX 8: ADVOCATI

Badovarius, Ursus (996)

*Advocatus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II

Dominicus (995)

*Advocatus* of the monastery of St Zacharias

Maurocenus, Mauricius (998)

'Advocatus et missus' of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II



## APPENDIX 9: LIBERTI

Adalbertus (979/991)

Baruzzus (979/991)

Becharius, Ottolus (979/991)

Constantius (979/991)

Dominicus (979/991)

Emmus (979/991)

Helias (991/1008)

Hyeremias (979/991)

Iohannes (979/991)

Jannes (991/1008)

Leo/Leus (971)

Longobardus, Ioannes (978/979)

Langobardus, Ioannes (979/991)

Lomgobardus, Ioannes (979/991)

Martinus (979/991)

Martinus (979/991)

Martinus (979/991)

Petrus (991/1008)

Restaldus (979/991)



## APPENDIX 10: ETHNIC DEFINITIONS

### **Francus**

Franchus, Aurius (991/1008)

Franchus, Sambatinus (991/1008)

### **Grecus**

Grecculus, Ioannes (979/991)

Greculus, Joannes (991/1008)

Greccus, Dominicus (979/991)

Greccus, Io[hannes] (ref 979/991)

Greccus, Michael (ref 979/991)

Grecus, Vitalis (982)

### **Longobardus**

Celsus Longobardus, Marinus (991/1008)

Joannes (991/1008)

*Navalarius Lombardus*

Longobardus, Ioannes (978/979)  
*Libertus* of Ursus Daneus

Langobardus, Ioannes (979/991)  
*Libertus* of Petrus

Lomgobardus, Ioannes (979/991)  
*Libertus* of Iannis Cyprianus

## APPENDIX 11: PEOPLE MENTIONING FROM WHERE THEY ARE

### **Ayboldas<sup>1</sup>**

Vitalis (978/979)

Vitalis (991/1008)

### **Amianas<sup>2</sup>**

Dondus, Petrus (991/1008)

### **Canaledo<sup>3</sup>**

Cemballarius, Joannes (991/1008)

### **Castello<sup>4</sup>**

Bassadellus, Joannes (ref 991/1008)

Carosus (ref 978/979)

Dominicus; son of Vitalis (982)

<sup>1</sup> Albiola?

<sup>2</sup> Archipelago of the Torcello's lagoons. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', pp. 22, 24. Castagnetti, *Insedimenti e 'populi'*, p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> It probably corresponds to 'Canaleclo' = modern-day Cannareggio. Cf. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', pp. 49–52.

<sup>4</sup> = Olivolo.

Iustinianus (971)

Manous (998)

Vitalis, Leo (991/1008)

Zeno/Zenonus (982)

Zenus (998)

### **Civitas Nova-Heracliana**

Mauricius; *dux* (764–797)

### **Corio<sup>5</sup>**

Dandolus (979/991)

### **Costanciaca/Constaciaco<sup>6</sup>**

de Canale, Marinus (991/1008)

Gambasyrica, Dominicus (979/991)

Payasucus, Mengus (991/1008)

Sadarzanus, Dominicus Jubianus (991/1008)

### **Dorsoduro<sup>7</sup>**

de Mollino, Dominicus (991/1008)

Paulus, Ioannes (971)

<sup>5</sup> There is a *fondamentum* named ‘Cona da Corio’ near Chioggia. Lanfranchi and Zille, ‘Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall’VIII al XII secolo’, p. 43 (see also map at p. 39).

<sup>6</sup> Archipelago of the Torcello’s lagoons. Lanfranchi and Zille, ‘Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall’VIII al XII secolo’, pp. 22, 24. Castagnetti, *Insedimenti e ‘populi’*, p. 577.

<sup>7</sup> This area was probably smaller than modern-day Dorsoduro. Lanfranchi and Zille, ‘Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall’VIII al XII secolo’, pp. 51–52.

**Equilo**

Borsus (ref 829)

Cigullus, Andrea (ref 829)

Dominicus (979/991)

Gatulus (ref 829)

Grauso (ref 829)

Helias (991/1008)

Pascalicus, Dulciolus (ref 829)

Primollus, Marconus (ref 829)

Romana (ref 829)

**Fine<sup>8</sup>**

Ursus (ref 998)

**Gemino/Geminis/Zeminis<sup>9</sup>**

Caucaninus, Leo (991/1008)

Donatus, Petrus (991/1008)

Vigilius (880)

<sup>8</sup> Location situated in the marshland near Civitas Nova-Heracliana. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', p. 13. Castagnetti, *Insediamenti e 'populi'*, p. 577.

<sup>9</sup> Two small islands, located between Rivoalto and Olivolo. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', p. 50. Castagnetti, *Insediamenti e 'populi'*, p. 578.

**Grado**

Tornariacus, Joannes (ref 991/1008)

Tritulus (834/835)

He is defined as *Gradensis*.<sup>10</sup>

Vivarinus, Martinus (991/1008)

**Haburiano**<sup>11</sup>

Marimbianus, Petrus (991/1008)

**Luprius**<sup>12</sup>

Armatus (880)

**Maioribus**<sup>13</sup>

Marinus, Donatus (991/1008)

**Metamauco**

Albolus, Dominicus (979/991)

Barbanus, Iohannes (953)

Barbaromanus, Martinus (979/991)

Bonoaldus, Dominicus (982)

<sup>10</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Unde factum est quo quadam die, dum prelibatus Carosus dux securus in palacio maneret, a predictis hominibus captus, evulsis oculis exilio retrusus est. Sui quoque secutores, id est Deusdedus Grurus, Marinus Patricius, Dominicus Monatarius et Tritulus Gradensis, interfecti sunt.'

<sup>11</sup> Modern-day Burano.

<sup>12</sup> Island located in the area of the modern-day sestieri of St Polo and St Croce. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', p. 50. Castagnetti, *Insedimenti e 'populi'*, p. 578.

<sup>13</sup> Probably modern-day Mazzorbo, island located in Torcello's lagoons. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', pp. 22, 25.

Bonus (827/828)

Businiacus, Dominicus (991/1008)

Buzarius, Petrus (979/991)

Calbonus, Iohannes (979/991)

Carraria, Petrus (991/1008)

Celsus (979/991)

Cipalergius, Joanna (991/1008)

da Canal, Dominicus (991/1008)

Dominicus Monegarius; *dux* (756–764)

Franchanicus, Sambattinus (979/991)

Franchus, Aurius (991/1008)

Franchus, Sambatinus (991/1008)

Georgius, Dominicus (991/1008)

Heliadus, Petrus (978/979)

Honestus (979/991)

Hugarda Tencha, Martinus (979/991)

Iohannes (978/979)

It is stated that Iohannes is ‘de S. Luca, de Methamaucho’.

Joannes (991/1008)

Longus, Aureganus (991/1008)

Lumanus (991/1008)

Marinus, Dominicus (978/979)

Memmus, Dominicus Benedictus (978/979)

Memmus, Menius (991/998)

Mingolus, Joannes (991/1008)

Obellierius; *tribunus*; *dux* (805–810)

Petrus (978/979)

Petrus (991/1008)

Serzem, Iohannes (978/979)

Traculus, Georgius (991/1008)

Turdolus, Dominicus (979/991)

Victor (979/991)

Zeno/Zenonus, Io[hannes] (983)

Zeno, Ioannes (979/991)

**Amuriana/Amorianas/Amurianos/Muriana/Murianas<sup>14</sup>**

da Canale, Andreas (991/1008)

It is stated that he is ‘de Amurianos’.

da Canale, Joannes (991/1008)

It is stated that he is ‘de Amuriana’.

de la Canale, Joannes (991/1008)

It is stated that Joannes is ‘de Murianas’.

<sup>14</sup> Modern-day Murano.

da Pordo, Ursus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de vico Muriana'.<sup>15</sup>

de Drelo, Joannes (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'Amurianas'.

de Rivo, Petrus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Muriana'.

Diesenove, Martinus (979/991)

It is stated that he is 'de Amorianas'.

Florentius, Joannes (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Amuriana'.

Fuschus, Dominicus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Amorianas'.

Fuschus, Joannes (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de vico Amurianas'.

Marinescus, Bonus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Amurianas'.

Pentanus, Dominicus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de vico Amuriana'.

Petrus, Marinus (991/1008)

It is reported that he is 'de Amurianas'.

Severus, Marcus Petrus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Muriana'.

Tanconessus, Dominicus (991/1008)

It is stated that he is 'de Amurianas'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 144: 'Urso da Pordo de vico Muriana juravit et dedit libras denariorum 14 et s. 26'.

**Pupilia**<sup>16</sup>

Barbalongus, Marconus (ref 997)

**Rivoalto**

Badovarius, Ursus (996)

Dominicus, son of Martinicus (991/1008)

Maurocenus, Mauricius (998)

**Spinales**<sup>17</sup>

Badovarius (982)

Baduarius (998)

**Torcello**

Bonozus, Leo (991/1008)

Cenibis Cogitanis, Lobana (ref 829)

Dominicus; son of *tribunus* Iohannes (ref 829)

Leo (971)

He is defined as *Torcellensis*.<sup>18</sup>

Longus, Georgius (982)

Rusticus (827/828)

Theophilatus (ref 829)

Zuchus, Iohannes (979/991)

<sup>16</sup> Modern-day Poveglia, island situated south of St Servolo, near Metamauco. Lanfranchi and Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Probably modern-day Giudecca.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 89: 'Signum manus Leo Torcellensis'.

*11a. Individuals of Whom It Is Stated that They Are 'De rivo X'***Rivus Marini**

Dominicus (991/1008)

**Rivus de S. Laurentio**

Bonoaldus, Dominicus (979/991)

**Rivus Sancto Thomas**

Longus, Dominicus (991/1008)

**Rivus Sanctorum Apostolorum**

Ursus, Dominicus (991/1008)

*11b. Individuals of Whom It Is Stated that They Are 'De sancto X'***Sanctus Iacobus**

Petrus (ref 979/991)

*Presbiter* 'de Sancto Iacobo'.

**S. Luca, de Methamaucho**

Iohannes (978/979)

**S. Paulo**

Ioannes (971)

*11c. Unknown locations*

Dominicus (991/1008)

Son of Benogonus. Dominicus is mentioned in the list of people paying the tithe during Duke Petrus Ursoylus II's rule. It is stated that he is 'de Zilio Battano (*de rivo Battario?*)'.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 70, p. 143: 'Dominicus, filius Benogoni de Zilio Battano (*de rivo Battario?*), juravit et dedit'.

## APPENDIX 12: ECCLESIATICS

### *12a. Patriarchs of Grado*

#### **Paulus (568/569)**

When the Lombards invaded Italy (568/569), the Patriarch of Aquileia, Paulus, decided to leave his see and take refuge on the island of Grado. He brought with him the riches of the Church of Aquileia and the relics of some saints.<sup>1</sup> Paulus remained in office for twelve years<sup>2</sup> and was buried in Grado.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, II. 10: 'Hoc etiam tempore Romanam Ecclesiam vir sanctissimus Benedictus papa regebat [*in reality the pope was John III*]. Aquileiensi quoque civitati eiusque populis beatus Paulus patriarcha praeerat. Qui Langobardorum barbariem metuens, ex Aquileia ad Gradus insulam confugiit secumque omnem suae thesaurum ecclesiae deportavit'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 4: 'Eodem tempore Romanam ecclesiam vir sanctissimus, Benedictus papa, regebat. Aquilegensi quoque civitati eiusque populis beatus Paulus patriarcha praeerat. Qui Langobardorum rabiem metuens, ex Aquilegia ad Gradus insulam confugit secumque beatissimi martiris Hermachore et ceterorum sanctorum corpora, que ibi humata fuerant, deportavit et apud eundem Gradensem castrum honore dignissimo condidit, ipsamque urbem Aquilegiam novam vocavit'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 6: 'Paulus siquidem predecessor eius, hostile periculum non ferens, Longobardis advenientibus, cum omni thesauro ecclesie Gradus se contulerat, afferens secum corpora sanctorum martyrum Hilari et Taciani et reliquorum'.

<sup>2</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, II. 25: 'Paulus quoque patriarcha annis duodecim sacerdotium gerens, ab hac luce subtractus est'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 9: 'Defuncto vero Paulo patriarcha, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexerat annos duodecim'.

<sup>3</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 6: 'defuncto vero Paulo et in ecclesia Gradensi humato, cuius sepulchrum usque modo ibi manet'.

## Probinus (570s)

He remained in office for one year and died in Aquileia.<sup>4</sup>

## Helya/Helias (570s–580s)

On 3 November 579, Helya held a synod of the bishops of the ‘Venetia et Histria’ province in Grado, in the new basilica of St Eufemia, which he had previously built.<sup>5</sup> On that occasion the decisions of the Fourth ecumenical council were confirmed, thus refusing the condemnation of the ‘Three Chapters’ issued in 553 at the council of Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> According to John the Deacon and the author of the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis*, who probably had at their disposal the interpolated proceedings of the synod of Grado, Helya and the participants of that council decreed that Grado was the metropolitan see of the ‘Venetia et Histria’ province.<sup>7</sup> In 585/586 Pope Pelagius II wrote Helya and the bishops of that province three letters asking to change their minds about this matter.<sup>8</sup> According to the epistle the bishops of *Venetiae* and *Raetia* II sent to Emperor Mauricius in 590/591, the sovereign had ordered the Byzantine

<sup>4</sup> *Historia Langobardorum*, II. 25: ‘Paulus quoque patriarcha annis duodecim sacerdotium gerens, ab hac luce subtractus est regendamque ecclesiam Probino reliquit’. *Historia Langobardorum*, III. 14: ‘Mortuo vero apud Aquileiam patriarcha Probino, qui ecclesiam unum rexerat annum, eidem ecclesiae sacerdos Helias praeficitur’. The same information can be found in *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 9. 11. The *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie* mentions Probinus but does not report the length of his rule, p. 6: ‘Defuncto vero Paulo et in ecclesia Gradensi humatum, cuius sepulchrum usque modo ibi manet, Probinus Gradensium, id est novę Aquileię, rexit ecclesiam’.

<sup>5</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 5: ‘Temporibus Tyberii Constantini augusti Helias patriarcha Aquileiensis in Gradensi castro ecclesiam sanctę Eufemię fabricari precepit’. This was also mentioned in an inscription on the mosaic floor of St Eufemia which is no longer readable. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, no. 11, p. 231: ‘Seruus Ie(s)u Chr(ist)i Helias ep(iscopu)s aquil(eiensis), Dei gratia auxilioque fundator eccl(esiae) s(an)c(t)ae Eufemię uotum soluit’. Helias is remembered in another inscription which probably represents the dedication of a part of that church. No. 42, p. 248: ‘Servus Ie(su) Ch(rist)i Helias ep(i)s(copus) s(an)c(t)ae Aquil(eiensis) eccl(esiae) Tibi seruiens fec(it)’.

<sup>6</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 5, pp. 7–13.

<sup>7</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 5–8. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 4. 11. For the later interpolations of the synod’s proceedings, see the observation of the editor of this text and Fedalto, *Aquileia*, pp. 111–14.

<sup>8</sup> Pope Gregory I, *Registrum epistularum*, Appendix III. 1–3, pp. 442–67. A reference to these letters is in Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III. 20, and in *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 14, that copied from Paul the Deacon.

officer Smaragdus to stop harassing Helya and other ecclesiastics about this issue.<sup>9</sup> Primary sources report contradictory information about the chronology of Helya's rule: Paul the Deacon and John the Deacon narrate that he remained in office for fifteen years<sup>10</sup> while the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* states fourteen years, ten months, and twenty-one days.<sup>11</sup> However, this latter source relates that Helya died five years after the synod of Grado,<sup>12</sup> that is in 584/585, while John the Deacon says that the patriarch passed away in 588.<sup>13</sup> He was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>14</sup>

### Severus (late 580s/beginning of the seventh century, after 603)

Shortly after his election, the Byzantine Patrician, Smaragdus, went to Grado and forced Severus and other ecclesiastics to go to Ravenna and condemn the Three Chapters. After one year, the patriarch and his companions were allowed to go back to their see but the people of Grado and the bishops of 'Venetia et Histria' refused to take communion with them. At the council of Marano, held around 590/591, Severus recognized his error and was pardoned.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 8, pp. 15–16: 'Et dum Smaragdus gloriosus chartularius, patrem nostrum sanctae memoriae Heliam, archiepiscopum Aquileiensis ecclesiae, pro causa ipsa pluribus vicibus contristaret ... iussionem suam dedit ad praedictum gloriosum Smaragdum, ut nullatenus quemquam sacerdotum pro causa communionis inquietare praesumeret'.

<sup>10</sup> *Historia Langobardorum*, III. 26. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'defunctus est supramemoratus Helias patriarcha, qui annos pontificatum rexit XIII et menses X dies XXI'.

<sup>12</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 8–9: 'post annos V his omnibus suprascriptis peractis in ipsa sede metropolitana Gradensi, defunctus est supramemoratus Helias patriarcha'.

<sup>13</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 17: 'His diebus cum essent anni ab incarnatione Domini DLXXXVIII. defuncto Helya patriarcha Aquilegensi, postquam quindecim annos sacerdotium gesserat sepultus est apud Gradensem metropolym in ecclesia sancta Euphymie'.

<sup>14</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'defunctus est supramemoratus Helias patriarcha ... sepultus est in ecclesia beate Eufemie'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 17: 'His diebus cum essent anni ab incarnatione Domini DLXXXVIII. defuncto Helya patriarcha Aquilegensi, postquam quindecim annos sacerdotium gesserat sepultus est apud Gradensem metropolym in ecclesia sancta Euphymie'. It has been hypothesized that a monogram on the mosaic floor of chapel of St Eufemia refers to Helya and that the patriarch was buried there. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, no. 36, p. 246: 'Helias episcopus'.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 8, pp. 16–17. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III. 26: 'His diebus, defuncto Helia Aquileiensi patriarcha postquam

Pope Gregory the Great then sent the patriarch a letter inviting him to discuss this matter at a synod in Rome;<sup>16</sup> according to three epistles Severus's supporters and the patriarch himself wrote to Emperor Mauricius, the pontiff had used the force to convince the patriarch and his followers to go to Rome and Severus and the bishops of *Venetia et Histria* had refused to obey the pope's orders.<sup>17</sup> In 591 the emperor ordered Gregory the Great not to harass them about that issue, because the unrest characterizing Italy in that period suggested that it was better not to intervene against them.<sup>18</sup> The relationship between the pope and the patriarch however continued to be tense. In a letter to the bishop of Ravenna, dated to July 592, Gregory the Great said that he would have kept writing the emperor about the 'Three Chapters' issue and, to the request of sending alms to Grado, which had been destroyed by fire, replied that Severus, defined as 'schismatic', was scheming against him and that 'alms should be given to the faithful first, and to the Church's enemies afterwards'.<sup>19</sup> In June 603 the pope sent an epistle to the exarch of Ravenna, saying that Severus was the head of the schismatics and that he incited the inhabitants of Trieste to revolt against their bishop because the latter had decided not to side with the supporters of the 'Three Chapters' any longer.<sup>20</sup> According to a letter, mentioned in the proceedings of the synod of Mantua (827), of the Patriarch of Aquileia,

quindecim annos sacerdotium gesserat, Severus huic succedens regendam suscepit ecclesiam. Quem Smaracodus patricius veniens de Ravenna in Gradus, per semet ipsum e basilica extrahens, Ravennam cum iniuria duxit cum aliis tribus ex Histria episcopis, id est Iohanne Parentino et Severo atque Vindemio, necnon etiam Antonio iam sene Ecclesiae defensore. Quibus comminans exilia atque violentiam inferens, communicare compulit Iohanni Ravennati episcopo, trium capitulorum damnatori, qui a tempore papae Vigili vel Pelagii a Romanae Ecclesiae desciverat societate. Exempto vero anno, e Ravenna ad Gradus reversi sunt. Quibus nec plebs communicare voluit, nec ceteri episcopi eos receperunt. Smaracodus patricius a daemonio non iniuste correptus, successorem Romanum patricium accipiens, Constantinopolim remeavit. Post haec facta est sinodus decem episcoporum in Mariano, ubi receperunt Severum patriarcham Aquileiensem dantem libellum erroris sui, quia trium capitulorum damnatoribus communicarat Ravennae'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 17, copied from Paul the Deacon.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 7, p. 14. A reference to this epistle can also be found in the letter the bishops of *Venetia et Histria* sent to Emperor Mauricius. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 8, pp. 16–17.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 9, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 9, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 10, p. 21. The English translation is taken from *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, trans. by Martin, I, p. 216.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 11, p. 22.

Iohannes, to the Lombard King Agilulf (590–616), Severus had a serious conflict with Candidianus, who became patriarch of Grado after Marcianus, and, under the penalty of excommunication, prohibited Candidianus from being promoted to higher office.<sup>21</sup> Severus created a food service for the poor and donated all his properties to the church of St Eufemia. In return, he asked the priests of Grado to celebrate masses and to give alms on his behalf.<sup>22</sup> Severus remained in office for twenty-one years, and thirty-one days and was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>23</sup>

### Marcianus (beginning of the seventh century, after 603)

John the Deacon and the author of the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* report that, after the death of Patriarch Severus, Abbot Iohannes became patriarch in Aquileia, while Marcianus was elected to the same office in Grado.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Paul the Deacon narrates that Candidianus succeeded Severus.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, p. 86: 'Atque Candidianus inutilis, qui se ob sui sceleris immanitatem prefate sanctae recordationis domno Severo, decessori nostro, sub anathematis interpositione obligatus est, ne ad potioem gradum umquam accederet'. Salvatore Cosentino has hypothesized that the different positions of the two men about the 'Three Chapters' schism led to such conflict. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 265.

<sup>22</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'Huic successit Severus patriarcha ad regendam ecclesiam; qui omnes sua res, quas de parentum iure habuit, in iam dicta ecclesia sanctę Eufemię reliquit per testamentariam vocem, commendans sacerdotibus ipsius metropolis Gradensis ut ipsi superstitēs sue posterī eorum pro his rebus specialiter omni die sabbato pro ipso missas celebrarent atque oblationes offerrent, mensamque pauperum instituit; cuius et testamenti cartula apud ecclesiam Gradensem manet, et res quas ibi reliquit ipsi possidet ecclesia.'

<sup>23</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'Defuncto vero ipso beatissimo viro apud Gradensem metropolim ecclesiam, sepultus est in basilica sanctę Eufemię; qui pontificatum rexit annis numero XXI dies XXXI'. John the Deacon does not report the length of Severus's rule.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 20: 'His diebus defuncto Severo patriarcha, ordinatur in loco eius Iohannes abbas patriarcha in Aquilegia vetere cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis. In Gradus quoque ordinatus est a Romanis Marcianus antistis'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'Huic (Severus) successit Marcianus patriarcha.'

<sup>25</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV, 33: 'His diebus defuncto Severo patriarcha, ordinatur in loco eius Iohannes abbas patriarcha in Aquileia vetere, cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis. Aput Gradus quoque ordinatus est Romanis Candidianus antistis'.

Marcianus remained in office for three years, and five days<sup>26</sup> and was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>27</sup>

### Candidianus (beginning of the seventh century)

According to a letter, reported in the proceedings of the synod of Mantua (827), of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Iohannes, to the Lombard King Agilulf (590–616), Candidianus was elected irregularly and three Istrian bishops were forced to accept his election.<sup>28</sup> The same source alludes to the fact that Candidianus previously had conflicted with the Patriarch of Grado, Severus, who, under the penalty of excommunication, prohibited Candidianus from being promoted to higher office.<sup>29</sup> Candidianus held the Patriarchate for five years,<sup>30</sup> but it is likely that this is a mistake and the actual reign lasted five months.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 22: 'Defuncto autem Marciano, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexerat annos tres, dies V, successit Candidianus'. Three years, one month, and five days in *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 9: 'Huic successit Marcianus patriarcha, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexit annis numero .III. m. .I. d. .V. Mortuo vero ipso apud Gradum, sepultus est in ecclesia beatę Eufemię'.

<sup>28</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, pp. 85–86: 'episcopi Histriae, cum summa vi et necessitate a Gradensi castro Ravennam compulsione districtissima ducebantur Graecorum ... de ecclesiis suis a militibus tracti et cum gravi iniuria et contumeliis ad eum venire compulsi sunt'.

<sup>29</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, p. 86: 'Atque Candidianus inutilis, qui se ob sui sceleris immanitatem prefate sanctae recordationis domno Severo, decessori nostro, sub anathematis interposicione obligatus est, ne ad potioem gradum umquam accederet'. Salvatore Cosentino has hypothesized that the different positions of the two men about the 'Three Chapters' schism led to such conflict. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, I, 265.

<sup>30</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 24: 'Rursum mense novembrii et decembrii stella commetis apparuit. Candidiano patriarcha quoque defuncto apud Gradus, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexerat annos quinque, ordinatur patriarcha Epyphanus, qui fuerat primicerius notariorum, ab episcopis qui erat sub Romanis. Et ex illo tempore ceperunt esse duo patriarche'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: 'Defuncto vero Candidiano patriarcha apud Gradense castrum, qui annis rexit ecclesias numero .V'.

<sup>31</sup> Fedalto, *Aquileia*, p. 122.

### Epyphanius (beginning of the seventh century)

Before being elected patriarch, Epyphanius held the office of *primicerius notariorum*.<sup>32</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Epyphanius died in 602 (the correct date is probably 612) and that he was patriarch for five years, and three months,<sup>33</sup> while the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* reports that his rule lasted one year, three months, and eleven days. Epyphanius was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>34</sup>

### Cyprianus (610s–620s)

John the Deacon states that Cyprianus held the patriarchate for twenty-five years, three months, and twenty days,<sup>35</sup> while the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* reports fifteen years, three months, and eleven days.<sup>36</sup> Twenty-five is probably a mistake and fifteen was the actual number. Cyprianus was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>37</sup>

### Fortunatus (627)

Fortunatus promised to give Marianus, *eloquentissimus consiliarius* of the exarch, a certain *domus Stephani*, probably located in or near Grado.<sup>38</sup> Being against the

<sup>32</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, iv. 33: 'Candidiano quoque defuncto, apud Gradus ordinatur patriarcha Epiphanius, qui fuerat primicerius notariorum, ab episcopis qui erant sub Romanis. Et ex illo tempore coeperunt duo esse patriarchae'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, i. 24, copied from Paul the Deacon.

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, i. 27: 'Anno ab incarnatione domini sexcentesimo secundo Epyphanius patriarcha mortuus est, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexit annos V et menses III. Huic successit Cyprianus patriarcha'.

<sup>34</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: 'successit Epiphanius, qui sanctam ecclesiam Gradensem rexit annum .I. mensem tres, dies .XI.; qui mortuus est et sepultus est in ecclesia sancte Eufemie'. Salvatore Cosentino hypothesizes that he is the *notarius* Epyphanius who took part in the synod of Grado (579). Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, i, 403.

<sup>35</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, i. 29: 'Circa hec namque tempora Cyprianus patriarcha hominem exivit, qui Gradensem ecclesiam reixerat annos viginti quinque, menses tres, dies viginti'.

<sup>36</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: 'Huic successit Ciprianus patriarcha ad regendam ecclesiam Gradensem, qui rexit ann. numero .XV. m. .III. dies .XX'.

<sup>37</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: 'et hoc mortuo atque sepulto in eadem basilica, ubi suprascripti precessores humati sunt'.

<sup>38</sup> A reference to this episode is in a letter of Pope Theodorus to Patriarch Primogenius, dated to 642/647, in which the pontiff urged the patriarch to fulfill that pledge in spite of the fact that heretics, i.e. Fortunatus, made it. *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, i, p. 25, no. 14. It has been hypothesized that this letter is a forgery. Conte, *Chiesa e primato*, p. 441, n. 129.

‘Three Chapters’ — the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* labels him as *hereticus* — and fearing punishment, Fortunatus fled to the Lombards bringing with him the treasure of the Church of Grado.<sup>39</sup> In a letter sent to the bishops of ‘Venetia et Histria’ in February 628, Pope Honorius states that he asked the king of the Lombards to return Fortunatus and everything the latter had purloined.<sup>40</sup> John the Deacon does not mention this patriarch.

### Primogenius (628–648)

In a letter sent to the bishops of ‘Venetia et Histria’ in February 628, Pope Honorius states that he replaced Fortunatus with the Roman subdeacon Primogenius.<sup>41</sup> The new patriarch sent an ambassador to Constantinople telling the emperor that the Lombards depredated parish churches, wanted to take control of some of his diocese’s bishoprics and refused to return the objects Fortunatus had taken. The Byzantine emperor sent him the ‘cathedra’ of St Mark and some gold and silver to replace the stolen treasure.<sup>42</sup> Primogenius received the *pallium* from the pope<sup>43</sup> and had the relics of Hermacora, Felix and Fortunatus translated to Grado.<sup>44</sup> He was involved in a dispute with Marianus,

<sup>39</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: ‘Fortunatus quidam hereticus pontificatum arripuit; qui quintam synodum minime credens, ob sui erroris piaculum pavens, totam ecclesiam Gradensem metropolitanam denudans in auro et vestibus vel ornamento, simul et ecclesias baptismales provincię Histrię et sinochagia que ad eandem ecclesiam Gradensem pertinere videbantur, fugam in Longobardiam petiit apud Castrum Cormones super civitatem Aquileiam miliario .XV’.

<sup>40</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 13, p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 13, p. 24. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: ‘idem vero papa providens utilitati sanctę Dei ecclesię. Primogenium diaconum et regionarium sedis apostolicę ad eandem metropolim regendam direxit, dans et epistolam auctoritatis apostolicę innondantem memorati Fortunati heresim’. *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 29: ‘Huic successit Primogenius Romane sedis subdiaconus regionarius’.

<sup>42</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11: ‘At vero supra memoratus patriarcha Primogenius apcrisarium suum dirigens in regiam urbem ad virum piissimum Iustinianum augustum [*the emperor was Heraclius*], huius rei indagandę causa, qualiter ipse baptismales ecclesię denudatę fuissent, quod et Longobardi suos episcopos a diocesi eius subtrahere voluissent, et ipsum thesaurum apud se ipsi retinuissent. Nunc demum ipse piissimus imperator aurum et argentum plus remisit quam perdiderant, et insuper sedem beatissimi Marci evvangeliste dirigens, quam ab Alexandria Heraclius augustus in regiam urbem adduxerat’.

<sup>43</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 10–11: ‘et usque hodie pontifex civitatis Gradensis pallei benedictionem a summa sede apostolica promeruit’.

<sup>44</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 10: ‘idem autem Primogenius per

*eloquentissimus consiliarius* of the exarch, because he refused to give him a certain *domus Stephani*, probably located in or near Grado, which Patriarch Fortunatus had promised to Marianus. In 642/647 Pope Theodorus sent a letter to the patriarch urging him to fulfill that pledge in spite of the fact that heretics, i. e. Fortunatus, made it.<sup>45</sup> Primogenius died in 648 after remaining in office for twenty years, three months, and seven days.<sup>46</sup> He was buried in St Eufemia beside his predecessor, Cyprianus.<sup>47</sup>

### Maximus (648–668)

He participated in all of the sessions of the council of Rome in 649, by intervening several times and subscribing the proceedings of that meeting.<sup>48</sup> Maximus remained in office for twenty years<sup>49</sup> and was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>50</sup>

### Stephanus (668–672)

Stephanus died in 672 after ruling the patriarchate for five years.<sup>51</sup> He was buried in Grado, near the basilica of John the Evangelist.<sup>52</sup>

visionem ammonitus corpora beati Hermachore et martiris atque pontificis Felicis et Fortunati, sita miliario tercio, in Gradensem civitatem adduxit ibique diligenti cura deposuit.

<sup>45</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 14, p. 25. It has been hypothesized that this letter is a forgery. Conte, *Chiesa e primato*, p. 441, n. 129.

<sup>46</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 38: 'Anno autem ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo quadragesimo septimo Primogenius patriarcha ex hac luce migravit, qui ecclesiam Gradensem gubernavit annos viginti, mensibus III. dies VII'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11.

<sup>47</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11: 'sepultus est iuxta corpus antecessoris sui beatissimi Cypriani in basilica beatę Eufemię'.

<sup>48</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, pp. 2–3, 26–29, 31, 50–51, 94–95, 111, 177, 234–45, 247, 344–53, 390–91.

<sup>49</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 43: 'Mortuo quoque Maximo hac tempestate, qui ecclesiam Gradensem gubernavit annos XX'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11: 'Huic successit Maximus presul ... et sepultus est in eadem basilica'.

<sup>51</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I, 46: 'Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo secundo Stephanus patriarcha ex hac luce migravit, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexit annos quinque'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11: 'eo vero mortuo atque sepulto in eodem castro iuxta basilicam beati Iohannis evangeliste'.

### Agathon (670s–680s)

In 680 he participated in the council of Rome and subscribed the *suggestio synodica* given to Emperor Constantine IV and read at the ecumenical council of Constantinople (680–681).<sup>53</sup> In 683/685 a certain Iohannes asked the patriarch a question regarding the marriage of his daughter.<sup>54</sup> Agathon remained in office for ten years.<sup>55</sup>

### Christoforus (685–717)

John the Deacon narrates that Christoforus died in 717<sup>56</sup> and the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* reports that he remained in office for thirty-two years and that he was inhumed in the basilica of John the Evangelist (Grado).<sup>57</sup>

### Donatus (717–720s)

During his rule, the Patriarch of Aquileia, Serenus, tried to take possession of some areas under the jurisdiction of Grado's diocese. In December 723, Pope Gregory II sent a letter to Donatus saying that he had warned Serenus not to do so.<sup>58</sup> Donatus held the patriarchate for seven years<sup>59</sup> and was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, pp. 154–55.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 15, pp. 25–26.

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 51: 'Hoc quoque tempore mortuo Agathone patriarcha, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexerat annos decem'. Agathon is not mentioned in the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*.

<sup>56</sup> John the Deacon *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 3: 'Anno incarnationis Domini DCCXVII Christoforus patriarcha ex hac luce migravit. Huic successit Donatus'.

<sup>57</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 11: 'Cristoforus presul suscepit ecclesiam Gradensem regendam; qui in patriarcatu vixit ann. numero .XXXII. et mortuus est atque sepultus in eadem basilica (*basilica beati Iohannis evangeliste*)'.

<sup>58</sup> The letters of the pope to Serenus and to the bishops of 'Venetia et Histria' can be found in *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 12–13, and *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, nos 17–19, pp. 27–30.

<sup>59</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 10: 'Circa hec tempora Donatus patriarcha ex hac luce migravit, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexit annis VII. Huic successit Antoninus patriarcha'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 12: 'sepultus est in basilica sanctę Eufemię'.

### Antoninus (720s–740s)

In 725, after the death of Patriarch Donatus, Pope Gregory II sent a letter to the ecclesiastics and the *populus of Venetia et Histria* saying that the Bishop of Pola/Pula, Petrus, who had unjustly taken possession of the office of patriarch of Grado, was removed, and inviting them to elect a new patriarch.<sup>61</sup> Following the pontiff's suggestion, they elected Antoninus who obtained a *privilegium* and the *pallium* from Pope Gregory III.<sup>62</sup> The patriarch of Grado went to a council in Rome at the invitation of the pope to discuss the iconoclast edict of the Emperor Leo III and his son Constantine V. It was on this occasion that the definitive division between Grado and Aquileia was established.<sup>63</sup> In 740/741 the pope asked Antoninus to help the exarch of Ravenna, who had left his city and taken refuge in Venice, following the Lombard conquest of Ravenna.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 18, pp. 29–30.

<sup>62</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 13–14: 'beatissimus Gregorius papa tercius, qui post obitum Donati Gradensis patriarche epistolam suam direxit universis Venetiensis seu Histrie et cuncto populo, ut electionem in Gradensem patriarcham facerent; qui precepto eiusdem papae Gregorii elegerunt Antoninus, virum probatissimum, in nova sancta Aquileiensi patriarcham ecclesiam, qui a beato Gregorio papa tercio iuxta decessorum suorum exemplar privilegium cum benedictione pallei consecutus est'.

<sup>63</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'Hic Antoninus patriarcha ammonitus est a predicto Gregorio papa Romam ad synodum occurrere ... propter imagines que in regia urbe deponere iuebant Leo atque Constantinus augusti et inclita coniugia que per diversa loca fiebant. Post hanc vocationem Antoninus patriarcha cum suis suffraganeis Romam ad synodum perexit; in qua synodo definitive divisio facta est inter Antoninum Gradensem patriarcham et Serenum Foroiulensem antistitem iuxta edictum beati Gregorii secundi, confirmante tota synodo'.

<sup>64</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 13: 'Ob quam rem Gregorius quoque, apostolicus urbis Rome, tota aviditate sepedicte urbi subveniendo, propriam epistolam, que inferius legitur, Antonino Gradensi patriarcha miserat, ut Veneticos amabili obsecratione ilicere deberet ad eandem defendendam urbem venirent. "Dilectissimo fratri Antonino Gregorius. Quia peccato faciente Ravenantium civitas, qui caput erat omnium, ab nec dicenda gente Longobardorum capta est et filius noster eximius domnus exarchus apud Venecias, ut cognovimus, moratur, debeat tua fraterna sanctitas ei aderere et cum eo nostra vice pariter decertare, ut ad pristinum statum sancte rei publice et imperiali servicio dominorum filiorumque nostrorum Leonis et Constantini, magnorum imperatorum, ipsa revocetur Ravenantium civitas, ut zelo et amore sancte fidei nostre in statu rei publice et imperiali servicio firmi persistere Domino quooperante valeamus. Deus te incolomem custodiat, dilectissime frater"'.

Antoninus remained in office for twenty-two years, ten months, and twenty days<sup>65</sup> and was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>66</sup>

### Emilianus (740s–750s)

Emilianus held the patriarchate for eight years and five days<sup>67</sup> and was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>68</sup>

### Vitalianus (757–766)

Vitalianus remained in office for twelve years, two months, and fifteen days<sup>69</sup> and was inhumed in St Eufemia.<sup>70</sup>

### Iohannes (766–802/803)

Iohannes was related to Patriarch Fortunatus II.<sup>71</sup> In a letter to Pope Stephen, dated to 770/772, Iohannes asked the pontiff to intervene in the grave situation in Istria, which resulted from the Lombard conquest of that area. The Lombards had inflicted overwhelming damage to the area's churches and *pau-peres*, and were not allowing the patriarch of Grado to exercise his functions. Moreover, the Istrian bishops had taken advantage of the situation and consecrated a few prelates on their own.<sup>72</sup> Pope Stephen III sent a letter to Iohannes

<sup>65</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 15: 'His quoque temporibus Antoninus Gradensis patriarcha a presenti luce migraverat; cuius regimen annis XXII et mensibus X insuper et diebus XX fuerat'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'sepultus est in eodem castro in ecclesia sanctę Eufemię'.

<sup>67</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 16: 'Eodem etiam tempore Emilianus patriarcha, qui Gradensem ecclesiam annis VIII et dies V gubernaverat, in pace vitam finivit'. In the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14, it is said that Emilianus remained in office for eight years and six days.

<sup>68</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'mortuo vero, sepultus est in eadem ecclesia (ecclesia sanctę Eufemię)'.

<sup>69</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'Huic successit Vitalianus, qui rexit pontificatum ann. .XII. ms. .II. d. .XV'. John the Deacon does not mention for how long Vitalianus was in office. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 16.

<sup>70</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'et sepultus est in eadem basilica (ecclesia sanctę Eufemię)'.

<sup>71</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis'.

<sup>72</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 30, pp. 46–49.

and the Istrian bishops emphasizing that, in reality, the main issue was that the Istrian prelates wanted to be independent of the patriarch of Grado. The pontiff threatened to excommunicate the Istrian churchmen if they should continue their behaviour.<sup>73</sup> The problems with the Istrian bishops and the fact that the Duke of Venice, Mauricius, had decided to create the new bishopric of Olivolo (775)<sup>74</sup> probably induced Iohannes to look for the support of the pontiff and of Charlemagne, who had conquered most of the Lombard Kingdom in 774. A letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, in which Iohannes appears to be an informer of both the pontiff and the Frankish sovereign, seems to confirm the patriarch's attitude.<sup>75</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Duke Iohannes sent a fleet against the patriarch of Grado led by his son, Mauricius, who killed the patriarch.<sup>76</sup> Iohannes held the patriarchate for thirty-six years and was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>77</sup> John the Deacon recounts that Iohannes was inhumed in the chapel of St Mark.<sup>78</sup>

### Fortunatus II (802/803–820s)

Fortunatus II was related to Patriarch Iohannes.<sup>79</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Fortunatus II plotted against Duke Iohannes and his son, Mauricius, because of the murder of the previous patriarch of Grado. He then left Venice

<sup>73</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, nos 31–32, pp. 50–53.

<sup>74</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19.

<sup>75</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 34, pp. 53–54.

<sup>76</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 22: 'Anno vero vigesimo tercio ducatus predicti Iohannis, compta occasione, suum filium Mauricium navali exercitu ad Gradensem urbem, ut domnum Iohannem, sanctissimum patriarcham, interficeret, destinavit. Ubi illuc pervenit, paternis iussionibus optemperare studens, eundem sanctissimum virum crudeliter interfecit. Cuius mors maximum dolorem suis reliquit civibus, quoniam insons fuerat interemptus'. The chronicler does not explain the motivation of this grave action, but it is believed that it was provoked by Iohannes's pro-Frankish policy in a period during which Charlemagne sought to extend his influence over the Venetian Duchy. Ortalli, 'Il ducato', pp. 727–28.

<sup>77</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'Huic successit Iohannes patriarcha, qui rexit ecclesiam metropolitanam ann. .XXXVI. et sepultus est in eadem ecclesia beatę Eufemię'. John the Deacon leaves some blank space for the duration of Iohannes's patriarchate. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 22.

<sup>78</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 22: 'sepultusque fuit in sancti Marci capella post sanctorum martyrum mausolea'.

<sup>79</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis'.

with a group of Venetians, among whom there was Tribune Obellierius, who would become duke of Venice in 805. The Venetian dissidents went to Treviso, while the patriarch went to Francia.<sup>80</sup> In the meantime, in March 803, probably thanks to the pro-Frankish leanings of Fortunatus II, Pope Leo III granted him the *pallium*.<sup>81</sup> In August 803, the patriarch met Charlemagne 'in villa quae vocatur Salzaa' (near Neustadt) and brought him several gifts among which were two ivory doors.<sup>82</sup> On that occasion Fortunatus II obtained from the Frankish Emperor the immunity for the lands that the Church of Grado owned in the Italian kingdom.<sup>83</sup> Probably in that period, Charlemagne ordered that four ships belonging to Fortunatus II could travel and trade in the Italian kingdom without paying any taxes<sup>84</sup> and appointed the patriarch as leader of the abbey of Moyenmoutier in order to solve the dispute over the election of the new abbot of that monastery.<sup>85</sup> The chronicler of that abbey, who gives a physical description of the patriarch,<sup>86</sup> narrates that Fortunatus II was from Jerusalem<sup>87</sup> and that during his rule many estates and relics of saints were given to the monastery.<sup>88</sup> The cordial relations between the patriarch of Grado and the emperor

<sup>80</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24: 'Prelibatus siquidem Fortunatus patriarcha acriter dolens interfectionem sui decessoris et parentis, insidias adversus Mauricium et Iohannem duces composuit et, relicta sede et urbe, ad Italiam perexit. Quem etiam secutus est quidam tribunus, Obellierius nomine, Metamaucensis, Felix tribunus, Dimitrius, Marianus seu Fuscarius Gregorii et nonnulli alii Veneticorum maiores, ex quibus solus patriarcha in Franciam ivit. Ceteri vero remanserunt in quadam civitate non procul a Venecia, nomine Tarvisio'.

<sup>81</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 37, pp. 56–58. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 14: 'qui a Leone papa privilegium cum benedictione pallii iuxta suorum decessorum exemplar consecutus est'.

<sup>82</sup> *Annales Mettenses Priores*, pp. 89–90: 'Venit quoque Fortunatus patriarcha de Grecis, afferens secum inter cetera donaria duas portas eburneas, mirifico opera sculptas'. The editor of this text believes that 'Grecis' is a mistake of a copyist for 'Gradis'.

<sup>83</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 38, pp. 58–59.

<sup>84</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 39, pp. 59–60.

<sup>85</sup> *Liber de Sancti Hildulfi successoribus in Mediano monasterio*, p. 88, chapter 3.

<sup>86</sup> *Liber de Sancti Hildulfi*, p. 88, chapter 3: 'Fuisse equidem dicitur recalvaster hic Domini famulus, corpore exilis et exiguuus, facie et conversatione angelicus, barba sublonga, canisque respersa decoratus'.

<sup>87</sup> *Liber de Sancti Hildulfi*, p. 88, chapter 3: 'repertus est ibidem Fortunatus patriarcha venerabilis, qui gratia salutandi famosum principem, visendique loca sanctorum, quos fama excurrere didicerat, ab Hierosolimis peregre digressus erat'.

<sup>88</sup> *Liber de Sancti Hildulfi*, p. 88, chapter 3: 'Praedia in augmentum loci in diebus eius collate sunt numerosa, cartarum monumento hucusque notissima Ipsius collatione ex cunctis

are also emphasized in the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis*, which reports that Fortunatus II became the 'spiritual father' of Charlemagne.<sup>89</sup> The patriarch did not remain on the other side of the Alps for long. In 804, he chaired a *placitum* at Risano/Rižana in Istria, where the Istrians put in their claims against their duke.<sup>90</sup> In 814/820 Emperor Louis the Pious confirmed the decisions made on that occasion to Fortunatus II.<sup>91</sup> Duke Iohannes and his son, Mauricius, left Venice in 805, after which Obellierius became the new duke.<sup>92</sup> Fortunatus II decided to return to Venice, but Obellierius did not give him the permission to enter the duchy. John the Deacon does not mention the reason for this refusal, but it is likely that the main motive was the fact that Fortunatus II had arrived with the Bishop of Olivolo, Christoforus.<sup>93</sup> The latter had demonstrated himself to be an adversary of Obellierius by leaving Venice with Duke Iohannes.<sup>94</sup> The situation was further complicated because Deacon Iohannes had replaced Christoforus as Bishop of Olivolo. The patriarch of Grado, however, believed that Iohannes was unjustly holding the office of bishop and had him captured. Iohannes nevertheless managed to flee, and the relations between Obellierius and Fortunatus II became even tenser. Finally, an agreement was reached, and Christoforus was given the Bishopric of Olivolo and the patriarch was allowed to go back to Grado.<sup>95</sup> Fortunatus II, however, did

pene instrumentis humane conversationi atque passioni Domini aptatis amplexabilia pignora locus hic meruit percipere, pariterque preciosorum martyrum Stephani, Lazari quatruiduani sepulti, Georgii atque Pancratii, cum plurimis quae nunc longum videtur prosequi'.

<sup>89</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, pp. 14–15: 'hic tantę famositatis fuit, ut dive memorie Karolus imperator spiritalem patrem eum habere optaret'.

<sup>90</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 40, pp. 61, 62, 67: 'in territorio Caprense, loco qui dicitur Riziano, ibique adunatis venerabili viro Fortunato patriarcha ... Fortunatus patriarcha dedit responsum, dicens ... tunc Fortunatus patriarcha dixit ... De aliis vero causis stetit inter Fortunatum, venerabilem patriarcham, seu supracriptos episcopos, seu Ioannem ducem ... † Fortunatus, misericordia Dei patriarcha, in hac repromissionis cartula me subscripsi'.

<sup>91</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 43, p. 70: 'Ludovicus, divina ordinante clementia, imperator augustus Fortunato venerabili patriarchae'.

<sup>92</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24.

<sup>93</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Post aliquod vero tempus Fortunatus patriarcha cum Christoforo episcopo de Francia repedavit. Quibus cum fas non esset Veneciam penetrare, in sancti Cipriani ecclesia, plebe scilicet Altinatis episcopii, quae scita est apud Mistrinam, ospitati et aliquamdiu commorati sunt'.

<sup>94</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24.

<sup>95</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Verum postquam domnus Fortunatus Christofori episcopi sedem a Iohanne diacono iniuste usurpatam didicit, prorsus doluit, et tractare studiosissime cepit

not remain in his see for very long. When the Venetians and Dalmatians came under the Frankish sphere of influence, the Byzantines responded by sending a fleet to Venice. Knowing this, the patriarch decided to leave Venice and again retreated beyond the Alps. Thus, Deacon Iohannes, who had been bishop of Olivolo for a brief period, became the new patriarch of Grado.<sup>96</sup> In a letter from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne (c. 806), the pontiff complained because, without consulting the pope, the emperor wanted to assign Fortunatus II the bishopric of Pola/Pula, which already had a bishop.<sup>97</sup> Leo III underlined that Fortunatus II could remain in that city on the condition that the local bishop would not lose his rights and that, if Fortunatus II reacquired the position in Grado, he would not have any rights over the bishopric of Pola/Pula.<sup>98</sup> The pope, moreover, invited the emperor to take care not only of the patriarch's prosperity, but of his spiritual wellbeing, and suggested that Charlemagne did not place too much trust in Fortunatus II. Leo III was previously told that the patriarch of Grado had behaved improperly for a churchman both in Italy and Francia. Besides, the emperor did not have to listen to those who praised the patriarch, because Fortunatus II had paid them.<sup>99</sup> Around 810, probably after the attempted invasion of the Duchy of Venice by the Franks, Patriarch

qualiter sibi faveret ut eum ad propriam sedem restituere posset. Iohannes siquidem predictus diaconus quadam die cum incautus iret, a Fortunato patriarcha captus et diu detentus est. Sed ubi excogitaret quid de illo agere deberet, nocte fuga lapsus evasit et instanter Obellierium ducem adivit. Cui cum ea que passus a Fortunato fuerat ordine recitaret, potius ducis animum adversus eundem patriarcham in odium quam antea esset excitavit. Tamen, consulente patriarcha, Christoforus sedem suam tandem recepit; Iohannes vero diaconus reversus est ad propriam domum. Igitur Fortunatus patriarcha, cum per aliquanta temporum spacia exsul a propria sede maneret, Gradensem disposuit reciprocare urbem.

<sup>96</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 25: 'Et quia valde Nicetae patricii adventum prestolari formidabat, qui tunc missus ab imperatore cum exercitu in partes Dalmaciarum atque Veneciarum veniebat, relicta sede et propria urbe, iterum Franciam petiit. Iohannes vero diaconus, qui electus fuerat in episcopatu Olyvolensi, ordinatus est patriarcha.'

<sup>97</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 41, p. 68.

<sup>98</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 41, p. 68: 'Nos vero de hac re pertractantes praevidimus, ut, secundum qualiter vestrae imperiali clementiae complacuit, ut in Polana ecclesia persisteret, ita maneat, sub eo prorsus tenore, ut, si domino annuente et beato Petro apostolo protegente, per vestram in triumphis victoriam ipsa sua sedis illi restituta fuerit, secundum qualiter praedicta Polana ecclesia integra cum omni sibi pertinentia susceperit, sic iterum ea restiteatus, et non de rebus eius aut pecunia ad sua subtrahere sedem, sed neque cuiquam ex ipsis rebus sue pecuniis atque speciebus dare quoque modo praesumat, ut ipsa ecclesia semper inrefragabiliter cum suo antistite salva existere possit.'

<sup>99</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 41, p. 69.

Iohannes II was removed and Fortunatus II was allowed to return to Grado.<sup>100</sup> In 819, Fortunatus II witnessed the donation of the chapel of St Hilarius by Duke Agnellus and his son Iustinianus, co-regent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servulus, Iohannes, who wished to leave his monastery. In this charter, Fortunatus II bears the title 'sancte Gradensis que et Aquilegiensis ecclesie patriarcha';<sup>101</sup> if this is not a later interpolation, this could indicate that he had some claims over Aquileia.<sup>102</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Fortunatus II kept going to Francia against the will of Duke Agnellus, and for this reason he was deposed.<sup>103</sup> The Venetian chronicler then adds that Fortunatus II went with some Byzantine ambassadors to Francia, where he died shortly thereafter.<sup>104</sup> In a document dated to 824 and addressed to Emperor Louis the Pious, Fortunatus II gives a long description of what he did for his Church.<sup>105</sup> Further information about the

<sup>100</sup> John the Deacon narrates that this happened after Iohannes had held the see of Grado for four years. Fortunatus II left Venice after learning of the arrival of the Byzantine fleet in 806. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 28: 'Iohannes siquidem patriarcha, qui per quattuor annorum spacia Gradensem sedem vivente pastore usurpavit, sinodali censura depositus est ... Fortunatus dehinc ad propriam sedem reversus est'.

<sup>101</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, pp. 8–10: 'nos quidem Agnellus et Iustinianus per divinam gratiam Venecie provincie duces una cum reverentissimo domno Fortunato sancte Gradensis que et Aquilegiensis ecclesie patriarcha ... † Fortunatus misericordia Dei patriarcha in hac privilegii carta sicut superius legitur manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>102</sup> Rando, 'Fortunato', p. 237.

<sup>103</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Agnellus vero predictus dux legationis causa suum nepotem et aequivocum Constantinopolim misit ibique mortuus fuit. Fortunatus quidem patriarcha, cum non sedit in sua vellet degere sede, sed contra Veneticorum voluntatem sepiissime Franciam repetebat et, quia hoc amodo ducibus displicebat, pepulerunt illum a sede et in loco eius ordinaverunt Iohannem, Sancti Servuli abbatem'.

<sup>104</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 34: 'Antedictus quidem Fortunatus patriarcha, propria sede amissa, secundum quod diximus, Franciam cum Grecorum missis repetebat ibique aliquamdiu moratus diem finivit extremum. Gubernavit autem Gradensem ecclesiam per viginti et septem annorum spacia'.

<sup>105</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45, pp. 75–78. Some of the works done in the churches of Grado by Fortunatus II were recorded by John the Deacon as well. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 28: 'Et quia nulla ratione sui operis plenitudinem exarare me posse existimo, partem, quam corrundam relatione expertus sum, stilo adnotare studui. Ecclesiarum namque altaria Gradensis urbis lamminis argenteis condecoravit et supra altaria martyrum argentea templa composuit. Ecclesiam vero sanctae Agathe martyris a fundamentis ipse edificare devotissime fecit, ubi martyrum quadraginta et duo corpora in eiusdem ecclesiae cripta recondidit. Ceterum vero quicquid in thesauris seu in ecclesiarum ornamentis peregit, nemo nominatim exprimere potest'.

patriarch of Grado can be extracted from the *Annales regni Francorum*. This source states that in 821, one of Fortunatus II's priests reported to Emperor Louis the Pious that the patriarch was helping the Duke of 'Pannonia inferior', Liudweit, who had rebelled against the Franks. The Frankish sovereign summoned Fortunatus II, who, pretending to obey, went to Istria, then to Zara/Zadar. When the *praefectus* of Dalmatia knew the reason of the patriarch's flight, he sent Fortunatus II to Constantinople.<sup>106</sup> In 824, Fortunatus II went to Emperor Louis the Pious's court along with some Byzantine ambassadors, who told the sovereign that they did not come to speak in favour of Fortunatus II, but to bring the emperor gifts and letters and to confirm the peace between the Franks and the Byzantines. Louis the Pious then sent Fortunatus II to Rome so that the pope could try him.<sup>107</sup> The last period of Fortunatus II's life and the date of his death are unknown. According to John the Deacon, he died shortly after going to Francia with the Byzantine legates,<sup>108</sup> while the chronicler of the abbey of Moyenmoutier narrates that Fortunatus II passed away after ruling the monastery for twenty years and was buried near the altar of Pope Gregory.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 821, pp. 155–56: 'Fortunatus patriarcha Gradensis, cum a quodam presbitero suo nomine Tiberio apud imperatorem fuisset accusatus, quod Liudewitum ad perseverandum in perfidia, qua coeperat, hortaretur eumque ad castella sua munienda artifices et murarios mittendo iuaret et ob hoc ad palatium ire iuberetur, primo velut iussionem impleturus in Histriam profectus est, inde simulato reditu ad Gradum civitatem nullo suorum praeter eos cum quibus hoc tractaverat, suspicante nactus occasionem clam navigavit, veniens Iaderam Dalmatiae civitatem Iohanni praefecto provinciae illius fugae suae causas aperuit, qui eum statim navi impositum Constantinopolim misit'.

<sup>107</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, annum 824, p. 165: 'Nam et illuc legatos Michaelis imperatoris, qui ad eum mittebantur, sibi occurrere iussit, cum quibus et Fortunatus patriarcha Veneticorum regressus ad eum venit praesentiam. Sed legati imperatoris litteras et munera deferentes, pacis confirmandae causa se missos esse dicentes pro Fortunato nihil locuti sunt ... Fortunatum etiam de causa fugae ipsius percontatus ad examinandum cum Romano pontifici direxit'. Fortunatus II is mentioned among the Byzantine ambassadors also in a letter of Emperor Michael II to Emperor Louis the Pious. *Concilia (MGH)*, II, part 2, p. 478: 'Et ideo iustum extimavimus mittere ad vestram gloriam ... Fortunatum archiepiscopum Veneciae ...'.

<sup>108</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 34: 'Antedictus quidem Fortunatus patriarcha, propria sede amissa, secundum quod diximus, Franciam cum Grecorum missis repetebat ibique aliquamdiu moratus diem finivit extremum'.

<sup>109</sup> *Liber de Sancti Hildulfi*, p. 88, chapter 4: 'Beatus autem patriarcha Fortunatus meritis tandem et aetate consummatus, huic temporalitati 4. Kal. Martii est subtractus. Atque ad perpetem flantium dierum infinitatem perductus. Huius veneranda gleba post bases altaris beati papae Gregorii decenti sepulturae est tradita. Anni vero regiminis eius Mediani monasterii reperiuntur viginti'.

Fortunatus II had a nephew named Dominicus, to whom, it seems, he gave some properties of the Church of Grado; Emperor Louis the Pious and his son Lothar sent the Patriarch of Grado, Venerius, a letter about this issue in 825/826.<sup>110</sup> The fact that Fortunatus II remained in office for twenty-seven years<sup>111</sup> is believed to be incorrect.<sup>112</sup>

### Iohannes II (806–810)

Following the election as duke of Obellierius in Treviso in 805, the Bishop of Olivolo, Christoforus, left Venice with Duke Iohannes<sup>113</sup> and was replaced by the deacon Iohannes.<sup>114</sup> Shortly afterwards, Christoforus returned with the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, who, after imprisoning the new bishop, Iohannes, managed to obtain the restitution of the Bishopric of Olivolo to Christoforus.<sup>115</sup> Fearing the arrival of a Byzantine fleet, Fortunatus II left Venice in 806, and Iohannes became patriarch of Grado.<sup>116</sup> He held this office

<sup>110</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 47, p. 82: 'de rebus ecclesiae tuae, quas antecessor tus Fortunatus Dominico nepoti suo dederat'.

<sup>111</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'qui Fortunatus rexit ecclesiam ann. . XXVII'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 34: 'Gubernavit autem Gradensem ecclesiam per viginti et septem annorum spacia'.

<sup>112</sup> Rando, 'Fortunato', p. 237.

<sup>113</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 24.

<sup>114</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 25: 'Olyvolensis namque sedis, que proprio pastore vacua videbatur, Iohanni diacono electo a plebe fuerat adtributa'.

<sup>115</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 25: 'Post aliquod vero tempus Fortunatus patriarcha cum Christoforo episcopo de Francia repedavit. Quibus cum fas non esset Veneciam penetrare, in sancti Cipriani ecclesia, plebe scilicet Altinatis episcopii, quae scita est apud Mistrinam, ospitati et aliquamdiu commorati sunt. Verum postquam domnus Fortunatus Christofori episcopi sedem a Iohanne diacono iniuste usurpatam didicit, prorsus doluit, et tractare studiosissime cepit qualiter sibi faveret ut eum ad propriam sedem restituere posset. Iohannes siquidem predictus diaconus quadam die cum incautus iret, a Fortunato patriarcha captus et diu detentus est. Sed ubi excogitaret quid de illo agere deberet, nocte fuga lapsus evasit et instanter Obellierium ducem adivit. Cui cum ea que passus a Fortunato fuerat ordine recitaret, pocius ducis animum adversus eundem patriarcham in odium quam antea esset excitavit. Tamen, consulente patriarcha, Christoforus sedem suam tandem recepit; Iohannes vero diaconus reversus est ad propriam domum'.

<sup>116</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 25: 'Et quia valde Nicetae patricii adventum prestolari formidabat, qui tunc missus ab imperatore cum exercitu in partes Dalmaciarum atque Veneciarum veniebat, relicta sede et propria urbe, iterum Franciam petiit. Iohannes vero diaconus, qui electus fuerat in episcopatu Olyvolensi, ordinatus est patriarcha'.

for four years and, around 810, he was deposed and the see of Grado was reasigned to Fortunatus II. Although John the Deacon emphasizes that Iohannes usurped the title of patriarch, the Venetian chronicler chose to report the works Iohannes carried out in the churches of Grado.<sup>117</sup> The *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* does not mention Iohannes.

### Iohannes III (819, 820s)

John the Deacon narrates that Iohannes was abbot of St Servulus when he was appointed patriarch of Grado by Duke Agnellus who had deposed the previous patriarch Fortunatus II.<sup>118</sup> Shortly thereafter, Iohannes left the office of patriarch, went to the church of St Hilarius with the monks of St Servulus, and established a new monastery there.<sup>119</sup> It is not certain, however, that these events happened in this order. In 819, Patriarch Fortunatus II subscribed Duke Agnellus's donation, which permitted Iohannes's transfer to St Hilarius.<sup>120</sup> The *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* does not mention Iohannes.

<sup>117</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 28: 'Iohannes siquidem patriarcha, qui per quattuor annorum spacia Gradensem sedem vivente pastore usurpavit, sinodali censura depositus est. Licet iniuste sedem invaderet, tamen ante sanctorum martyrum Hermachore et Fortunati, seu Hyllari et Taciani corpora, nec non et sancti Marci capellam marmoreis columnis et tabulis honorifice choros componere studuit; in sanctae vero Dei genitricis Mariae ecclesia supra altare ciborium peregit. Fortunatus dehinc ad propriam sedem reversus est'.

<sup>118</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Fortunatus quidem patriarcha, cum non sedule in sua vellet degere sede, sed contra Veneticorum voluntatem sepiissime Franciam repetebat et, quia hoc amodo ducibus displicebat, pepulerunt illum a sede et in loco eius ordinaverunt Iohannem, Sancti Servuli abbatem'.

<sup>119</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 33: 'Interea Iohannes abbas, qui electus in Gradensi pontificatu fuerat, sua sponte relicta sede, sancti Yllarii ecclesiam petens una cum monachorum contubernio quod in sancti Servoli monasterio degebat, monasterium ibi deinceps ordinare decrevit et habere pro futuro. Venerius deinde Gradensem adeptus est sedem, qui sancti Mauri ecclesiae, quae suburbio scita est, fabricator extitit'.

<sup>120</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, p. 8: 'Quoniam quidem Iohannes venerabilis abbas monasterii Sancti Servoli Dei caterna sui cenobii postulavit nostra suffragia eo quod in loco angusto constituti et infra paludes manentes Deo Christo deservirent possessionibus carentes unde victui necessaria subministrarent ... nos quidem Agnellus et Iustinianus per divinam gratiam Venecie provincie duces una cum reverentissimo domno Fortunato sancte Gradensis que et Acquilegiensis ecclesie patriarcha ... pro divino amore ac nostre anime sive parentorum nostrorum ... cogitavimus qualiter idem Dei servus Iohannes nomine presbiter et monachus atque abbat cum se coniunctis fratribus de predicta ecclesia Beati Christi Martiris Servoli transferentes quo loco transmutari ... ad nostram devenit memoriam ut capellam condam in honore Beati Yllarii Confessoris Christi super flumine qui dicitur Une ad iura proprietatis

### Venerius (820s–840s)

The *Cronica de singulis patriarchis*, which does not mention the Abbot of St Servolus, Iohannes, as patriarch, recounts that Venerius succeeded Fortunatus II.<sup>121</sup> In 825/827 there was an exchange of letters between Venerius and Emperor Louis the Pious about the rights of the Church of Grado over Istria, the properties of the Church of Grado, that Patriarch Fortunatus II had given to his nephew Dominicus, and the dispute over the patriarch of Aquileia's claims to the Church of Grado.<sup>122</sup> Venerius attempted to settle this conflict by going to the pope in Rome, but the pontiff did not take any decision because the prelate of Aquileia Maxentius did not show up.<sup>123</sup> In response to the decisions of the council of Mantua (827), which were in favour of claims of the Patriarchate of Aquileia over the Church of Grado,<sup>124</sup> Venerius wrote a letter of complaint to Pope Gregorius IV in 828.<sup>125</sup> Venerius, defined as 'restorer of churches',<sup>126</sup> had the church of St Maurus built,<sup>127</sup> remained in office for twenty-four years and eight months,<sup>128</sup> and was inhumed in the basilica of St Eufemia.<sup>129</sup>

nostre cum suo territorio constructam sibi concedentes quiete vivere possent tramite eo ordine quo decet beati Benedicti regule ... † Fortunatus misericordia Dei patriarcha in hac privilegii carta sicut superius legitur manu mea subscripsi'. Roberto Cessi believes that Iohannes became patriarch after Fortunatus II, accused of helping Duke Liudweit, left Grado in 821. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, p. 181.

<sup>121</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>122</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, nos 46–49.

<sup>123</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 49, p. 83: 'propter contentionem tuam (Venerius) et Maxentii patriarchae firmandam Romam venisti. Sed, quia Maxentius eodem tempore illuc non venit, et propter eius absentiam dominus apostolicus nihil diffinire potuit, tu, infecto negotio, domum reversus es'.

<sup>124</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 50.

<sup>125</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 51, pp. 90–92.

<sup>126</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>127</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 36: 'Venerius deinde Gradensem adeptus est sedem, qui sancti Mauri ecclesiae, quae suburbio scita est, fabricator extitit'.

<sup>128</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 54: 'Venerius quidem, Gradensis patriarcha, qui pontificalem cathedram annis rexerat viginti et quatuor et mensibus octo, mortuus est et Victor patriarcha extitit sibi successor'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>129</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'sepultus est in sanctę Eufemię ecclesia'. Roberto Cessi believes that Patriarch Venerius and deacon Venerius (ref 824) are the same person.

### Victor (840s–850s)

Victor held the patriarchate for six years, three months, and four days<sup>130</sup> and was buried in St Eufemia.<sup>131</sup>

### Helias? (853)

In 853 he signed Bishop of Olivolo Ursus's will.<sup>132</sup> Neither the *Istoria Veneticorum* nor the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis* mention Helias. It is believed that the name of the patriarch is a later interpolation.<sup>133</sup>

### Vitalis (850s–870s)

In 858 Pope Benedict III granted Vitalis the *pallium*<sup>134</sup> while in 863 Pope Nicholas invited him to attend a council in Rome.<sup>135</sup> Vitalis remained in office for nineteen years, one month, and six days<sup>136</sup> and was inhumed in the church of the *beata* Agatha.<sup>137</sup>

### Petrus (870s)

Before being elected patriarch, Petrus was a deacon; he is described as a holy man and a well-educated person. Petrus left Venice believing that he was unworthy of the patriarchate, but he was later convinced to return and accept the office.<sup>138</sup> Shortly afterwards, around 875/876, the patriarch clashed with

<sup>130</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II, 56: 'Mortuo vero Victore patriarcha, qui Gradensem ecclesiam annis gubernavit sex et mensibus tribus et diebus quattuor, Vitalis hanc adeptus est sedem'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>131</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'sepultus est in eadem ecclesia sanctę Eufemię'.

<sup>132</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 10: '† Ego Helias patriarcha cum successoribus meis commune consensu manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>133</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, p. 118, n. 1. Pozza, 'Il testamento del vescovo Orso', pp. 56–57.

<sup>134</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 3.

<sup>135</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 4.

<sup>136</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'Vitalis patriarcha, qui rexit pontificatum annos .XVIII. mensem .I. dies .VI.'. John the Deacon leaves a blank space in the duration of Vitalis's patriarchate. *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 9.

<sup>137</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'sepultus est in ecclesia beate Agathę'.

<sup>138</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 9: 'Hac denique tempestate mortuo Vitale patriarcha, qui

Duke Ursus II, because he had excommunicated Dominicus, recently elected bishop of Torcello, against the duke's wishes. The reason for the excommunication was probably due to the fact that Dominicus castrated himself and was therefore considered unfit for an ecclesiastical office. In order to reach an agreement with the duke, Petrus moved for a year to Rivoalto in the church of St Iulianus, which belonged to the patriarchate of Grado. However, the disagreement became so heated that Petrus abandoned Venice, fled to Istria,<sup>139</sup> then to Rome where he requested the assistance of Pope John VIII and remained for a year.<sup>140</sup> Between 876 and 877, the pontiff wrote various letters to Duke Ursus II and to the Venetian bishops asking that they obey the patriarch's orders.<sup>141</sup> The prelates were also asked to meet the pope and the patriarch in Rome and then in Ravenna for a council, but the Venetian ecclesiastics arrived after the synod had already concluded.<sup>142</sup> Petrus went to Bologna, then to Parma, Pavia, and Treviso. After some discussion, the conflict was eventually settled with the agreement that the patriarch would not consecrate Dominicus as bishop, but that the latter could reside in the house of the bishop of Torcello and enjoy the properties belonging to the Church of Torcello. The fact that

Gradensem ecclesiam annis rexerat [...], domnus Petrus diaconus in loco eius electus est, vir sanctitate precipuus gramatice artis peritus. Hic dum tanti honoris se indignum iudicaret, priusquam eligeretur ad Italiam confugit, sed tandem precibus reductus, invitus ad pontificati culmen ascendit.

<sup>139</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: 'Apud Torcellum quidem mortuo Senatore episcopo, qui Altinatis ecclesiam annis [...] gubernavit, subrogatus est in ea sede Dominicus abbas Altinatis monasterii, qui olim fuerat monachus Sancti Illarii et inde egressus, pro inposito crimine veretro sibi absiso, apud Spoletum postmodum aliquamdiu moratus est. Quem dum contra ducis decretum Petrus egregius patriarcha sub anathematis vinculo coartaret, eiusdem ducis amissa gratia egressus Istriensem peciit provinciam'.

<sup>140</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 13: 'Domnus vero Petrus patriarcha, relicta Gradensi urbe, Rivoaltum adveniens, apud sancti Iuliani sui patrimonii ecclesiam ospitatus, ibi per integrum annum commoratus est. Tamen perfectam cum duce pacem propter Torcellensem electum minime habebat. Tandem patriarcha duci resistere non valens, occulte de Venecia exivit Romamque adire disposuit. Quem domnus papa Iohannes devote suscipiens, integro anno secum morari cum coegit'.

<sup>141</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 5–13.

<sup>142</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 18: 'Petrus siquidem patriarcha, qui Romae fuerat, una cum Iohanne papa Ravennam adveniens ibique septuaginta episcoporum sinodo congregata, duos episcopos Venetiae, id est Petrum Equilensem et Leonem Caprulensem et eos, qui erant in eadem provincia electos, ad eundem concilium convocavit, ut contentionis causam inter Ursonem ducem et patriarcham diligentissime determinaret. Sed dum episcopi cum electis tarde et expleta iam sinodo Ravennam venirent, communione a papa privati, duce tamen interpellante soluti sunt'.

Patriarch Petrus then agreed to consecrate the bishops of Olivolo, Metamauco and Civitas Nova-Heracliana indicates that the dispute regarded the ecclesiastical structure of the whole of the Duchy of Venice.<sup>143</sup> Petrus remained in office for four years and sixth months,<sup>144</sup> dying at the age of forty.<sup>145</sup> He was buried in the atrium of St Eufemia.<sup>146</sup>

### Victor II (late 870s–890s)

Victor II was *presbiter* of the basilica of St Silvestrus before becoming patriarch of Grado.<sup>147</sup> His brother was Georgius who succeeded him as patriarch of Grado. Victor II agreed to consecrate Dominicus as Bishop of Torcello. John the Deacon emphasizes that the duke of Venice forced him to do so.<sup>148</sup> Victor II

<sup>143</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘Petrus vero patriarcha Boloniam veniens, aliquamdiu ibi commoratus, rursus Parmam adiit ac deinde domni papae amore Papiam petiit ... Petrum vero patriarcham Papię reliquit. Qui ibi aliquantis diebus manens, dehinc Tarvisium veniens, a Landono ipsius civitatis episcopo dignissima veneracione susceptus est. Ubi cum legatis inter ipsum et predictum ducem euntibus tandem pax pristina consolidata esset, isdem egregius pontifex Veneciam repedavit et duce interpellante aliquantis diebus in palacio mansit, ea vero ratione ut Dominicus presbyter Torcellensis ecclesię electus, pro quo inter eos discordia fuerat, diebus Petri patriarchę episcopali consecratione careret, in episcopii tamen domo manens, fruendi rebus ipsius ecclesię licenciam haberet. Qui post paucos dies cum gratiam apud conductum pontificem repperiret, eum in Torcellensi ecclesia ad convivium invitavit. Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravat, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis nove’.

<sup>144</sup> Four years, six months and eight days in *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>145</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘Petrus vero patriarcha post paucum tempus ad Rivoaltum adveniens, in sancti Iuliani basilica ospitatus est. Qui non diu corporis sospitatem gerens, molestia preventus in eadem ecclesia sancta eius anima migravit ad gloriam. Gubernavit autem Gradensem ecclesiam annis quattuor et mensibus sex. Fuit autem statura decens et aspectu pulcher, non plus ætatis quam quadraginta annorum extitit’.

<sup>146</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘cuius corpus maximo cum honore Venetici ad Gradensem urbem deportantes, ante sanctae Euphemie ecclesiam in atrio sepellierunt’. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: ‘sepultus est ante ecclesiam sanctę Eufemie’.

<sup>147</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘Post hunc vero ad Gradensem gubernandam ecclesiam Victor presbyter sancti Silvestri basilice successit’.

<sup>148</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 23: ‘Tunc Victor electus patriarcha octavo kalendas februarii consecratus est. Qui etiam Dominicum Torcellensem electum, contra voluntatem consecravat, quoniam in suae electionis die sacramento a principe constrictus est, ut qualem ipse illi electum dirigeret, talem ille consecraret. Dixit tamen sibi patriarcha: “Ve tibi! quia temere ad hunc

held the patriarchate for eighteen years and was inhumed in the atrium of St Eufemia.<sup>149</sup>

### Georgius (or Gregorius)<sup>150</sup> (late 890s)

Brother of Patriarch Victor II.<sup>151</sup> Georgius remained in office for one year, six months, and twenty-one days.<sup>152</sup>

### Vitalis II (late 890s/early tenth century)

In 900, he subscribed the exemption from paying tributes that Duke Petrus Tribunus granted to the monastery of St Stephen of Altino.<sup>153</sup> Vitalis II held the patriarchate for three years, three months, and fourteen days<sup>154</sup> and was buried in the basilica of St Eufemia near the relics of St Fortunatus and St Hermachoras.<sup>155</sup>

accedis honorem". An nescis ubi dicitur: "Si quis semetipsum abscederit, deiciatur a clero?". Et ut coacte me hoc facere credas, in die iudicii pro hoc honore, nisi peniteas, rationem reddas, quia tibi ipse verendam amputare minime pepercisti'.

<sup>149</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 29: 'Tunc Victor patriarcha ex hac luce migravit; qui Gradensem gubernaverat ecclesiam annis decem et octo sepultusque est in atrio sanctae Eufemie. Quem successit Georgius frater ipsius'. According to the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15, Victor II's rule lasted seventeen years, eleven months and thirteen days.

<sup>150</sup> Gregorius in *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'Huic successit Gregorius patriarcha'.

<sup>151</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 29.

<sup>152</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 29: 'Tunc Victor patriarcha ex hac luce migravit; qui Gradensem gubernaverat ecclesiam annis decem et octo sepultusque est in atrio sanctae Eufemie. Quem successit Georgius frater ipsius, qui non plus quam anno uno et mensibus sex et diebus viginti et uno vixit. Hunc Vitalis iunior ad regendam successit ecclesiam'. One year, six months and twenty-two days, in *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, pp. 34, 36: 'nos Petro, Domino protegente, imperiali protospatario et Veneticorum duce, simul cum domno Vitale sanctissimo patriarcha ... Vitalis patriarcha manu mea'.

<sup>154</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 36: 'Mortuo itaque ipso tempore Vitale patriarcha, qui ecclesiam Gradensem gubernaverat annis tribus et mensibus tribus diebusque quattuordecim, successit sibi Dominicus patriarcha'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15.

<sup>155</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 15: 'sepultus est in ecclesia sancte Eufemie iuxta corpora sanctorum martyrum Hermachore et Fortunati'.

### **Dominicus (early tenth century)**

He remained in office for seven years and eleven months.<sup>156</sup>

### **Laurentius (early tenth century)**

Laurentius held the patriarchate for twelve years, nine months, and twenty-four days<sup>157</sup> and was inhumed in the atrium of St Eufemia.<sup>158</sup>

### **Marinus (ref 933; 948)**

During Marinus's rule relations between the Venetians, the Margrave of Istria, Wintherus, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Lupus, were very tense because the men of Wintherus had invaded the properties of the Church of Grado in Istria and had attacked Venetian merchants, while the troops of the patriarch of Aquileia had attacked Grado. The patriarch of Grado was asked to intervene and in 933 and in 948 two peace agreements were signed with the margrave of Istria and the patriarch of Aquileia respectively.<sup>159</sup> In a letter to the German King,

<sup>156</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 38: 'Hac scilicet tempestate Dominicus patriarcha migravit a seculo, qui ecclesiam Gradensem rexerat annis VII et mensibus XI, cuius Laurentius successor extitit'. According to the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 16, Dominicus held the patriarchate for seven years, eleven months and three days.

<sup>157</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 42: 'Ipso etiam tempore Laurentius patriarcha hominem exivit, qui Gradensem ecclesiam rexerat annis XII, mensibus VIII. diebus XXIII. tumultusque est in sancte Eufimie atrio; quem Marinus patriarcha successit'. *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 16.

<sup>158</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 42: 'Ipso etiam tempore Laurentius patriarcha hominem exivit, qui Gradensem ecclesiam rexerat annis XII, mensibus VIII. diebus XXIII. tumultusque est in sancte Eufimie atrio; quem Marinus patriarcha successit'.

<sup>159</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 36: 'Cum nos Wintherus et homines nostri invasimus res proprietatum de patriarchatu vestro Gradensi sancti Hermacore, quas in finibus Pollane et Ystrie habet ... naves eorum comprehendimus et depredavimus et homicidia in Veneticos fecimus ... Hoc videntes nos Wintherius marchio, missos direximus ad dominum Marinum, patriarcham, ut pro Dei omnipotentis amore intromitteret se ad dominum Petrum, eminentissimum ducem, ut pax cum nobis et cum nostro populo esset ... Tunc predictus dominus Marinus, egregius patriarcha, exiit a sua civitate Gradensi, venitque ad suum seniore, dominum Petrum, eminentissimum ducem, et admonuit eum, ut pro Christi amore pacem faceret, et malum pro malo non redderet'. *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia*, no. 2, p. 39: 'Notum facimus nos Lupo patriarcha sedis Sancte Aquileiensis ecclesie omnibus hominibus nostrorum fidelium, sacerdotium seu clero et populo, quia orta fuit contentio inter nos et Veneticos pro quibusdam intervenientibus causis, deinde etiam peccatis imminuentibus quidam ex nostris incontra civitatem Gradensem cum armis perrexere cupientes damna inferre. Unde

Henry (919–936), Duke Petrus Candianus II and Patriarch Marinus report that there had been a disagreement between the Jews and Christians in Jerusalem. The latter won the dispute and many Jews converted. The Byzantine emperor learned of this event and ordered the baptism of all Jews in his territory. The Venetians informed the German sovereign that a Jew from Jerusalem had gone to Germany where he was insulting the Christian religion. The duke and the patriarch invited Henry to follow the example of the Byzantine emperor and to drive all the Jews who refused to convert to Christianity out of his kingdom.<sup>160</sup> Marinus remained in office for thirty-four years, three months, and seven days.<sup>161</sup>

### **Bonus (950s–960s; 960)**

In 960, Bonus witnessed the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV and threatened to excommunicate those who would disobey the duke's orders.<sup>162</sup> Bonus held the Patriarchate for nine years, six months, and two days.<sup>163</sup>

dominus Petrus, Veneticorum dux in ira permottus, litigatio et magna discordia inter eum et nos adcrevit, et cum malum de die in diem magis accresceret, per multorum nostrorum ac eius fidelium legationes et deprecationes corrupta pace non valebamus ad statum proprium revocare. Tunc demum deprecantes misimus nostrum fratrem Marinum patriarcham, ut ipse ad suum senoiorem de hac re se intermitteret, ut ad pacis firmamentum nos cum suo seniore revocaret. Qui et benigna mente peregit et per eius supplicationem predictus dominus Petrus dux ad pacem et ad priorem amicitiam, quam nobiscum habuit, est reversus atque secundum seriem pacti ei legem fecimus. Sed ipsa compositio per deprecationem iam dicto Marino, fratri nostro patriarche, nobis reddere iussit'.

<sup>160</sup> *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, pp. 157–58: 'Heinrico sublimissimo regi ... Petrus Christi munere imperialis consul et senator atque dux Veneticorum una cum Marino venerabili patriarcha nostro ...'

<sup>161</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 16: 'cui successit Marinus patriarcha, qui tenuit pontificatum annos .XXXIII. ms. .III. d. .VII'. John the Deacon does not report the length of his rule.

<sup>162</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, pp. 70, 72: 'Tunc quodam die, residente nobis quidem Petro, Deo auxiliante Venetiae duce, condam domino Petro duce Candiano, una cum domino Bono egregioque ... Nam et nos supradictus Bonus, divino munere patriarcha, cum ceteris episcopis hoc in conventum nostrum sancte gradensis ecclesie per sacrorum canonum auctoritatem reperimus, ut quicumque hominem aut in captivitatem duxerit [aut venunderit], ipse in captivitate ire disponatur ... Et insuper nos Bonus patriarcha cum nostris confratribus et episcopis ita statuimus, quia homo ille qui hoc fecerit aut consensum faciendi prebuerit, excepta palatii causa, erit anathemizatus et alienus a corpore et sanguine Domini et ab ingressu ecclesie separatus ... Ego manus, immeritus sancte gradensis ecclesie patriarcha'.

<sup>163</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 16: 'Huic successit Bonus patriarcha, qui rexit ecclesiam annos .VIII. ms. .VI. d. .II'.

### Vitalis III Candianus (960s–1010s)

Son of Duke Petrus Candianus IV and his first wife Iohanna. After becoming duke in 959, his father divorced Vitalis's mother and had him consecrated *clericus*.<sup>164</sup> Vitalis became patriarch of Grado a few years later. He is first mentioned as having this office in 971 when he signed his father's prohibition to trade timber and weapons with the Muslims.<sup>165</sup> Emperor Otto renewed the *pactum* with Venice in 967, but the name of the patriarch is not mentioned;<sup>166</sup> it is likely that Vitalis already held the office in that period.<sup>167</sup> Otto II renewed the immunity on the properties that the patriarch of Grado owned in the empire for Vitalis.<sup>168</sup> Following the killing of his father in 976 and the election of Duke Petrus Ursoylus, Vitalis went to Saxony to ask Emperor Otto II for help.<sup>169</sup> In 978, Duke Petrus Ursoylus gave up his office and left Venice, after which Vitalis Candianus replaced him. Upon hearing this, Vitalis, who was in the marchland of Verona at that time, returned to Venice and, at the new duke's request, went to Germany to re-establish peaceful relations between Emperor Otto II and the Venetian Duchy.<sup>170</sup> In December 982, on occasion of the donation of the church of

<sup>164</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 11: 'Qui non post multum tempus, nacta occasione, maritale thorum Iohaniae uxori suę interdicens, in sancti Zachariae zoenobio monachicam vestem vi eam recipere coegit. Filium siquidem quem ex ea habuit, Vitalem nomine, clericum devovens, Gradensem patriarcham postmodum fieri promovit'.

<sup>165</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, pp. 87–88: 'tunc quadam die residente domino Petro, excellentissimo duce, seniore nostro, una cum Vitale, sanctissimo patriarcha, filio suo... Ego Vitalis patriarcha manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>166</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 48, pp. 85–86.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Capasso, 'Vitale Candiano (patriarca)', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, p. 773.

<sup>168</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 53, pp. 95–96: 'qualiter venerabilis Vitalis patriarcha gradensis sedis per nuncium suum nomine Audoenum nostram deprecatus est maiestatem, ut de rebus patriarchatus sui et episcoporum suorum, que infra dictionem imperii nostri consistere noscuntur, confirmationis nostre preceptum fieri iuberemus'.

<sup>169</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 15: 'Interea Vitalis Gradensis patriarcha, predicti Petri interfecti filius, quorundam Veneticorum consilio Saxoniam ad secundum Ottonem imperatorem properavit. Quem imperator devote suscipiens, dixit: 'Cur ad me, pater, posita tanti itineris intercapedine, meam presentiam adire voluisti?' At ille: 'Proprii', inquit, 'parentes exicio coactus ad tuam clementiam veni, quatinus mei infortunii meeque inopiae consolator et fautor efficiaris'. Tunc cesar, experta ordine huius sceleris ratione, patriarcham secum manere aliquamdiu rogavit suasque querelas pie veniabiliterque condoluit'.

<sup>170</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 19: 'Post cuius dicessum Vitalis, cognomento Candianus, vir totius prudentiae et bonitatis, in ducatus honorem subrogatus est. Quod audiens Vitalis patriarcha, qui apud Veronensem marchiam morabatur, in Venetiam intravit. Qui a duce interpellatus

St George and some estates for the foundation of St George monastery, Duke Tribunus Menius stated that he had also made the decision at the request of the patriarch of Grado, who, however, is not among the subscribers of the donation.<sup>171</sup> In June of the following year, the duke ordered the restitution to the Patriarch of Grado, Vitalis, of all of his father's possessions. The Venetian Duchy had retained them upon the death of Duke Petrus Candianus IV.<sup>172</sup> On the same occasion, Vitalis declared the payment of his father's properties that the Duchy of Venice had used *pro salvatione patriae* to be unnecessary.<sup>173</sup> In 1000, the patriarch welcomed to Grado the Venetian fleet that was heading to Dalmatia, and bestowed St Hermacoras's banner upon Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>174</sup> In 999/1003 Pope Silvester II sent Patriarch Vitalis III Candianus and Duke Petrus Ursoylus II a letter that reprimanded them, because the Venetian ecclesiastics were nicolaïtes and simoniacs and conducted business like laymen, and invited them to organize a synod in order to 'extirpate' these sins.<sup>175</sup> Vitalis remained in office for fifty years and six months.<sup>176</sup>

cum suis nuntiis ad pacem inter imperatorem et Veneticos consolidandam, Teutonicam petiit regionem, quoniam ducis Petri interfectione ammodum illos execrabiles exososque habebat; firmato autem federe ad propria reversus est'.

<sup>171</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, p. 19: 'nos Tribunus, divina gracia dux Venecie, motus tuis precibus, hortantibus et consencientibus nobis videlicet domno Vitale aegregio patriarcha'.

<sup>172</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 65, pp. 130–31.

<sup>173</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 66, pp. 131–33.

<sup>174</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 46: 'Quos domnus Vitalis patriarcha preeunte plebe cum clericorum apparatu excipiens, digna suo principi obsequia exhibuit; cuius quoque dexteram victrici sancti Hermachorae signo condecoravit'.

<sup>175</sup> *Italia Pontificia*, vol. VII, Pars II, nos 26, 67–68, pp. 18, 50.

<sup>176</sup> *Cronica de singulis patriarchis Nove Aquileie*, p. 16: 'post hunc successit Vitalis, qui rexit pontificatum annos .L. et ms. .VI'.

*12a1. Patriarchs in Origo (editio prima), pp. 42–45*

Paulus	Emilianus
Probinus	Vitalianus
Helyas	Iohannes
Severus	Fortunatus
Marcianus	Venerius
Candianus	Victor
Epiphanius	Vitalis
Ciprianus	Petrus
Primogenius	Victor
Maximus	Georgius
Stephanus	Dominicus
Agathon	Laurencius
Christoforus	Marinus
Donatus	Bonus
Antonius	Vitalis

## 12b. Venetian Bishops

### 12b1. Bishops of Caprulas

#### Leo (876, 877)

Leo and the other bishops of the Venetian duchy were involved in the conflict between Duke Ursus II and the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, about bishop of Torcello's election. In December 876 and May 877 Pope John VIII sent two letters to Leo about that issue, asking him to go with the other Venetian prelates to a synod in Ravenna for settling the dispute.<sup>1</sup> The chronicler John the Deacon narrates that Pope John VIII excommunicated them, as Leo and the other Venetian bishops arrived in Ravenna, when the synod was already over, and that the pontiff later forgave them thanks to Duke Ursus II's intervention.<sup>2</sup>

#### Marinus? (919?)

He took part in the *placitum* settling the dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 6, 12. Leo is also mentioned in a letter of the pope to Bishop Deltus about the same issue. II, no, 10, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 18: 'Petrus siquidem patriarcha, qui Romae fuerat, una cum Iohanne papa Ravennam adveniēns ibique septuaginta episcoporum sinodo congregata, duos episcopos Venetiae, id est Petrum Equilensem et Leonem Caprulensem et eos, qui erant in eadem provincia electos, ad eundem concilium convocavit, ut contentionis causam inter Ursonem ducem et patriarcham diligentissime determinaret. Sed dum episcopi cum electis tarde et expleta iam sinodo Ravennam venirent, communione a papa privati, duce tamen interpellante soluti sunt'.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 45: 'Marinus, caprulensis episcopus'. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

## 12b2. *Bishops of Civitas Nova-Heracliana*

### Benenatus? (680)

In the list of the bishops, who took part in the synod of Rome (680) and subscribed the *suggestio synodica* given to Emperor Constantine IV and read at the ecumenical council of Constantinople (680–681), Benenatus is mentioned as ‘episcopus ecclesiae Opotergensis’ (probably bishop of the Church of Oderzo).<sup>4</sup> It has been hypothesized that the bishop of Oderzo (in modern-day north-east Veneto) moved to Civitas Nova-Heracliana after the conquest of his city by the Lombards and that Benenatus was the bishop of Civitas Nova-Heracliana who kept the title of his predecessors of the mainland.<sup>5</sup>

### Iohannes (870s)

He was not immediately consecrated by the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, because of the conflict between the patriarch and Duke Ursus II about bishop of Torcello’s election.<sup>6</sup> Worthy of note is the particular that, unlike the other Venetians prelates, Pope John VIII did not ask the Bishop of Civitas Nova-Heracliana, Iohannes, to go to Ravenna in order to discuss that issue.

### Ursus? (919?)

He took part in the *placitum* settling the dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, p. 155: ‘Benenatus episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Opotergensis prouinciae Istriae.’ In the same list the Patriarch of Grado, Agatho, is said to be from the province of Istria.

<sup>5</sup> Pavan-Arnaldi, ‘Le origini dell’identità lagunare’, p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravit, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis nove’.

<sup>7</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 45: ‘Ursus, eraclianae civitatis’. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, ‘Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)’, pp. 503–12.

### **Petrus (960)**

He witnessed the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>8</sup>

## **12b3. Bishops of Equilo**

### **Petrus (864, 876, 877)**

After the killing of Duke Petrus in 864, the Bishop of Equilo, Petrus, the archdeacon of Grado, Iohannes, and Dominicus Masso were able to send some of the murderers into exile to Constantinople.<sup>9</sup> Petrus and the other prelates of the Venetian duchy were involved in the dispute between Duke Ursus II and the patriarch of Grado about bishop of Torcello's election. In December 876 and May 877, Pope John VIII sent Petrus two letters about that issue, asking him to go with the other Venetian churchmen to a synod in Ravenna for settling the dispute.<sup>10</sup> The chronicler John the Deacon narrates that, as Petrus and other Venetian bishops arrived in Ravenna, when the council was already over, Pope John VIII excommunicated them, and that the pontiff later forgave them thanks to Duke Ursus II's intervention.<sup>11</sup> In a letter to Duke Ursus II, dated to 876, the pontiff makes reference to the fact that Petrus was supposed to go to Constantinople on behalf of the duke.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Petrus eraclensis episcopus'.

<sup>9</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 1: 'Petrus quidem Candianus et Petrus Cletensius, Petrus Flabianicus, Dominicus Faletus per Petrum Equilegensensem episcopum et Iohannem Gradensem archidiaconem et Dominicum Massonem Constantinopolim ad exulandum destinati sunt'.

<sup>10</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, nos 8, 12. Petrus is also mentioned in two letters of the pope to Duke Ursus II and to Bishop Deltus about the same issue. II, nos 7, 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 18: 'Petrus siquidem patriarcha, qui Romae fuerat, una cum Iohanne papa Ravennam adveniēns ibique septuaginta episcoporum sinodo congregata, duos episcopos Venetiae, id est Petrum Equilensem et Leonem Caprulensem et eos, qui erant in eadem provincia electos, ad eundem concilium convocavit, ut contentionis causam inter Ursonem ducem et patriarcham diligentissime determinaret. Sed dum episcopi cum electis tarde et expleta iam sinodo Ravennam venirent, communione a papa privati, duce tamen interpellante soluti sunt'.

<sup>12</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 7, pp. 10–11: 'Petrus autem, si adest, modis omnibus veniat, siquidem, ut perhibetis, Constantinopolim mittendi nec mos vester nos

## 12b4. Bishops of Metamauco

### Ursianus/Ursinianus? (680)

In the list of the bishops, who took part in the synod of Rome (680) and subscribed the *suggestio synodica* given to Emperor Constantine IV and read at the ecumenical council of Constantinople (680–681), Ursianus/Ursinianus is mentioned as ‘episcopus ecclesiae Putauianae’ (*Patabiensis* in the Greek version of that source) (probably bishop of the Church of Padova).<sup>13</sup> It has been hypothesized that the bishop of Padova moved to Metamauco after the conquest of his city by the Lombards and that Ursianus/Ursinianus was the bishop of Metamauco who kept the title of his predecessors of the mainland.<sup>14</sup>

### Felix (876)

In December 876 Pope John VIII sent a letter to the Bishop of Equilo, Petrus, and the Bishop of Metamauco, Felix, asking them to go to a council in Rome in February 877 for discussing their misbehaviour with the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus.<sup>15</sup> During this period, Felix was probably ill and/or old, because a letter from the pontiff to Duke Ursus II states that, if Felix could not go to Rome, he had to send a representative.<sup>16</sup> Felix probably died shortly after as, on May 877, the pope sent another letter only to the prelates of Equilo and Caprulas<sup>17</sup> and, when the dispute was settled, Leo was bishop of Metamauco.<sup>18</sup>

latet. Maturius quippe quis huc venire ac redire ad propria poterit, quam mari mos et tempus accedat itineris’.

<sup>13</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, p. 155: ‘Ursianus (Ursinianus in a codex) episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Putauianae prouinciae Istriae’; p. 154: ‘Παταβίνης’. In the same list the Patriarch of Grado, Agatho, is said to be from the province of Istria.

<sup>14</sup> Pavan-Arnaldi, ‘Le origini dell’identità lagunare’, p. 423.

<sup>15</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 8. Felix is also mentioned in two letters of the pope to Duke Ursus II and to Bishop Deltus about the same issue. II, nos 7, 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 7, p. 10: ‘si forte se Felix venire ullo modo posse pretenderit, vicarium suum mittat, qui et mittentem se iureiurando excuset et in synodo vicem mittentis adimplet’.

<sup>17</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: ‘Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravit, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis nove’.

**Leo (877/878)**

He was not immediately consecrated by the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, because of the dispute between the patriarch of Grado and Duke Ursus II about bishop of Torcello's election.<sup>19</sup>

**Marinus? (919?)**

He participated in the *placitum* settling the dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello.<sup>20</sup>

**Dominicus (910s, 925)**

Before being elected bishop, Dominicus was archdeacon in Metamauco and acted as a representative of Duke Ursus Particiacus (911–931) at the court of the Bulgarian King, Simeon, for the ransoming of the duke's son, Petrus. This happened shortly after the election of Ursus Particiacus.<sup>21</sup> In 925, on occasion of the renewal of the pact between Venice and the Kingdom of Italy, Bishop Dominicus acted as legate of the duke of Venice.<sup>22</sup>

**Leo (1007/1008)**

In 1007/1008, Leo took part in the meeting in which Duke Petrus Ursolyus II and his son Otto granted the inhabitants of Piove di Sacco some trade exemptions.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: 'Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravit, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis nove'.

<sup>20</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 45: 'Marinus, sanctae metamaucensis ecclesiae episcopus'. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

<sup>21</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 40: 'Qui dum Chroatorum fines rediens transire vellet, a Michahele Sclavorum duce fraude deceptus, omnibusque bonis privatus atque Vulgarico regi, Simeoni nomine, exilii pena transmissus est. Quem pater perditum acriter dolens, minime acquirere quivit, interim per suum internuncium, Dominicum videlicet Metamaucensem archidiaconem, qui postea episcopus effectus est, suis donis redimeret'.

<sup>22</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 32, p. 47: 'quia Ursus, Veneticorum dux, per legatos suos, Dominicum scilicet venerabilem Madamaucensem episcopum atque Stephanum Coloprinum'.

<sup>23</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 82, p. 114: 'residentibus domini duces ... seu Leo

## 12b5. *Bishops of Olivolo*

### Obeliebatus (775–798)

He was a *clericus* when he became the first bishop of Olivolo. He was elected to that office on the eleventh year of Duke Mauricius's rule (775).<sup>24</sup> He held the bishopric of Olivolo for twenty-three years.<sup>25</sup>

### Christoforus (798–806)

He succeeded Obeliebatus.<sup>26</sup> In 805, having heard that the Venetians, who had left Venice in opposition to Duke Iohannes, had elected Obellierius duke, Christoforus abandoned Venice along with the Venetian ruler Iohannes and his son Mauricius.<sup>27</sup> Shortly after, Christoforus returned to Venice with the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, who had left the Venetian duchy because he had stood against Duke Iohannes,<sup>28</sup> but Obellierius did not give them the permission to enter the duchy.<sup>29</sup> John the Deacon does not mention the reason for this refusal, but it is likely that the main motive was the fact that Christoforus had shown himself to be an adversary of Obellierius by leav-

episcopo Methamaucensi'. Although this charter is not dated, its editor believes that this occurred in 1005. Given that Otto and not Iohannes is mentioned, this probably means that Petrus Ursoylus II's first son was already dead which likely occurred in 1007.

<sup>24</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 19: 'Qui dum sapienter et honorifice Veneticorum causam in omnibus tractaret, undecimo sui ducatus anno apud Olivolensem insulam apostolica auctoritate novum episcopatum fore decrevit, in quo quendam clericum, Obelliebatum nomine, episcopum ordinavit'.

<sup>25</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 21: 'Mortuo vero Obeliebato episcopo, qui Olivolensem episcopatum rexerat annis XX et III. Christoforus extitit ei successor'.

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 21: 'Mortuo vero Obeliebato episcopo, qui Olivolensem episcopatum rexerat annis XX et III. Christoforus extitit ei successor'.

<sup>27</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24: 'Christoforus etiam Olivolensis episcopus, dum Obelieri ducis adventum non auderet preestolari, cum predictis ducibus fuga lapsus est'.

<sup>28</sup> As Agostino Pertusi has emphasized, there is no evidence proving that Christoforus translated the acatist hymn into Latin while he was in Francia with Fortunatus II. Pertusi, 'Cultura bizantina a Venezia', p. 333.

<sup>29</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Post aliquod vero tempus Fortunatus patriarcha cum Christoforo episcopo de Francia repedavit. Quibus cum fas non esset Veneciam penetrare, in sancti Cipriani ecclesia, plebe scilicet Altinatis episcopii, quae scita est apud Mistrinam, ospitati et aliquamdiu commorati sunt'.

ing Venice with Duke Iohannes and that a deacon, named Iohannes, had replaced Christoforus as bishop of Olivolo. The patriarch of Grado, however, believed that Iohannes was unjustly holding the office of bishop and had him captured. Iohannes nevertheless managed to flee, and the relations between Obellierius and Fortunatus II grew even tenser. Finally, an agreement was reached, and Christoforus was given the Bishopric of Olivolo and the patriarch was allowed to go back to Grado.<sup>30</sup> The arrival of a Byzantine fleet in Venice in 806 caused the Venetian ruler to return under the sphere of influence of the Byzantines and Christoforus was among the Venetians who were sent into exile to Constantinople, probably because he disagreed with Duke Obellierius's policies.<sup>31</sup>

### Iohannes (805)

Following the election of Duke Obellierius in Treviso in 805, the Bishop of Olivolo, Christoforus, left Venice with Duke Iohannes<sup>32</sup> and was replaced by Iohannes, who was deacon at that time.<sup>33</sup> Shortly afterwards, Christoforus returned with the Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus II, who, after imprisoning the new bishop, Iohannes, managed to obtain the restitution of the Bishopric of

<sup>30</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Verum postquam domnus Fortunatus Christofoři episcopi sedem a Iohanne diacono iniuste usurpatam didicit, prorsus doluit, et tractare studiosissime cepit qualiter sibi faveret ut eum ad propriam sedem restituere posset. Iohannes siquidem predictus diaconus quadam die cum incautus iret, a Fortunato patriarcha captus et diu detentus est. Sed ubi excogitaret quid de illo agere deberet, nocte fuga lapsus evasit et instanter Obellierium ducem adivit. Cui cum ea que passus a Fortunato fuerat ordine recitaret, pocius ducis animum adversus eundem patriarcham in odium quam antea esset excitavit. Tamen, consulente patriarcha, Christoforus sedem suam tandem recepit; Iohannes vero diaconus reversus est ad propriam domum. Igitur Fortunatus patriarcha, cum per aliquanta temporum spacia exsul a propria sede maneret, Gradensem disposuit recipere urbem'.

<sup>31</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Beatus vero, frater eius, cum predicto Niceta Constantinopolim ivit secumque deferens Veneticorum obsides et Christoforum episcopum et Felicem tribunalum, quos augustus exilio dampnavit. Gubernavit autem predictus Christoforus Olivolensem ecclesiam annis duodecim; quem successit Christoforus presbyter, qui sancti Moysi ecclesiae estitit plebanus'.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 24.

<sup>33</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Olyvolensis namque sedis, que proprio pastore vacua videbatur, Iohanni diacono electo a plebe fuerat adtributa'.

Olivolo to Christoforus.<sup>34</sup> Fearing the arrival of a Byzantine fleet, Fortunatus II left Venice in 806, and Iohannes became patriarch of Grado.<sup>35</sup>

### Christoforus II (806, 819)

In 806 Christoforus II replaced Christoforus who had been sent into exile.<sup>36</sup> In 819 he witnessed the donation of Duke Agnellus and of his son Iustinianus, coregent Duke, to the Abbot of St Servulus, Iohannes, who had moved to St Hilarius.<sup>37</sup> In a document written in 824, describing what he had done for his Church, Patriarch Fortunatus II reported that he had bought some items from Bishop Christoforus, but we cannot establish whether he was referring to Christoforus or Christoforus II.<sup>38</sup> It is not known for how long he held the Bishopric of Olivolo.

<sup>34</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Post aliquod vero tempus Fortunatus patriarcha cum Christoforo episcopo de Francia repedavit. Quibus cum fas non esset Veneciam penetrare, in sancti Cipriani ecclesia, plebe scilicet Altinatis episcopii, quae scita est apud Mistrinam, ospitati et aliquamdiu commorati sunt. Verum postquam domnus Fortunatus Christofori episcopi sedem a Iohanne diacono iniuste usurpatam didicit, prorsus doluit, et tractare studiosissime cepit qualiter sibi faveret ut eum ad propriam sedem restituere posset. Iohannes siquidem predictus diaconus quadam die cum incautus iret, a Fortunato patriarcha captus et diu detentus est. Sed ubi excogitaret quid de illo agere deberet, nocte fuga lapsus evasit et instanter Obellierium ducem adivit. Cui cum ea que passus a Fortunato fuerat ordine recitaret, potius ducis animum adversus eundem patriarcham in odium quam antea esset excitavit. Tamen, consulente patriarcha, Christoforus sedem suam tandem recepit; Iohannes vero diaconus reversus est ad propriam domum.'

<sup>35</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 25: 'Et quia valde Nicetae patricii adventum prestolari formidabat, qui tunc missus ab imperatore cum exercitu in partes Dalmaciarum atque Veneciarum veniebat, relicta sede et propria urbe, iterum Franciam petiit. Iohannes vero diaconus, qui electus fuerat in episcopatu Olyvolensi, ordinatus est patriarcha.'

<sup>36</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 26: 'Gubernavit autem predictus Christoforus Olivolensem ecclesiam annis duodecim; quem successit Christoforus presbyter, qui sancti Moysi ecclesiae estitit plebanus.'

<sup>37</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, pp. 9, 10: 'seu Christophoro venerabili episcopo sancte Olivolensis ecclesie ... † Christoforus Dei gratia episcopus in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi.'

<sup>38</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, I, no. 45 p. 75: 'lineas duas cortinas historiales, quae circundant tota sedilia, unde misi ante velo maiore ante regias, que emi de Christophoro episcopo mancosos viginti.'

### **Ursus (821?–853?; or 828?–860?)**

Brother of Romana.<sup>39</sup> Given that John the Deacon narrates that Ursus held the office of bishop for thirty-two years and that, when he died, it was unusually cold,<sup>40</sup> one can hypothesize that his death occurred in 860. The Annals of Fulda report that in that year it was so cold that merchants could go to Venice using horses and carts instead of boats. If this is correct, Ursus was elected bishop in 828. However, Ursus had his will written in 853.<sup>41</sup> This might indicate that he died in that year or shortly after. In 829 Ursus witnessed Duke Iustinianus's will<sup>42</sup> and in 835/836, after the deposition of Carosus, who took possession of power after having overthrown Duke Iohannes, Ursus ruled Venice for a year along with Tribunes Basilius and Iohannes.<sup>43</sup>

### **Maurus (850s/860s)**

He succeeded Ursus<sup>44</sup> and held the bishopric of Olivolo for ten years.<sup>45</sup>

### **Dominicus (860s–870s)**

Dominicus succeeded Maurus and was elected in the period in which the King of Provence, Charles, died (863), and passed away after the death of the Slavic Prince Domagoj (876).<sup>46</sup> In December 876, Pope John VIII sent Dominicus

<sup>39</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, p. 8: 'Romana soror mea'.

<sup>40</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 56: 'Is diebus Ursus Olivolensis ecclesie presul, qui pontificalem sedem annis gubernavit triginta et duobus, hominem exivit, cui successit Maurus episcopus. Eo vero anno talis glacies apud Veneciam dicitur fuisse, qualis nec antea nec postea visa est'.

<sup>41</sup> *San Lorenzo*, no. 1, pp. 7–11.

<sup>42</sup> *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 2, p. 24: 'Ursus episcopus Sancte Olivolensis ecclesie in hunc testamento per voluntatem domno Iustiniano ipato manu subscripsi'.

<sup>43</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 44: 'Dehinc neminem ducem constituere maluerunt, sed eo carente, ab Ursone Olivolensi episcopo et Basilio et Iohanne tribuno unius anni spacio diiudicabantur'.

<sup>44</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 56: 'Is diebus Ursus Olivolensis ecclesie presul, qui pontificalem sedem annis gubernavit triginta et duobus, hominem exivit, cui successit Maurus episcopus. Eo vero anno talis glacies apud Veneciam dicitur fuisse, qualis nec antea nec postea visa est'.

<sup>45</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 60, III. 17: 'Tunc vero Mauro Olivolense episcopo mortuo, qui pontificati honorem rexit annis decem, Dominicus episcopus sibi successor extitit ... Hac tempestate Dominicus Olivolensis episcopus mortuus est, qui Olivolensem sedem annis gubernavit. Domnus Iohannes archidiaconus Marini Patricii filius in loco eius ordinatus est'.

<sup>46</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 60, III. 17: 'Tunc vero Mauro Olivolense episcopo mortuo,

and the Bishop of Caorle, Leo, a letter about the dispute concerning the election of the Bishop of Torcello, Dominicus.<sup>47</sup> It is not known for how long he held the Bishopric of Olivolo.

### **Iohannes Patricius (870s)**

Son of Marinus Patricius. Iohannes was archdeacon when he succeeded Dominicus as bishop of Olivolo.<sup>48</sup> He was not immediately consecrated by the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, because of the conflict between the patriarch and Duke Ursus II over the election of the Bishop of Torcello, Dominicus.<sup>49</sup> It is not known for how long he held the Bishopric of Olivolo.<sup>50</sup>

### **Laurentius (870s, 883)**

He was holding the office of priest when he succeeded Iohannes Patricius as bishop of Olivolo.<sup>51</sup> In May 883, Laurentius acted as legate of the duke of Venice<sup>52</sup> and of the abbot of St Hilarius<sup>53</sup> when Emperor Charles III renewed

qui pontificati honorem rexit annis decem, Dominicus episcopus sibi successor extitit ... Hac tempestate Dominicus Olivolensis episcopus mortuus est, qui Olivolensem sedem annis gubernavit. Domnus Iohannes archidiaconus Marini Patricii filius in loco eius ordinatus est'.

<sup>47</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 6, pp. 8–9.

<sup>48</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 17: 'Hac tempestate Dominicus Olivolensis episcopus mortuus est, qui Olivolensem sedem annis gubernavit. Domnus Iohannes archidiaconus Marini Patricii filius in loco eius ordinatus est'.

<sup>49</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: 'Deinde ad Gradensem urbem patriarcha reversus, tres electos episcopos consecravit, id est Iohannem Olivolensem et Leonem Metamaucensem et Iohannem Civitatis nove'.

<sup>50</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 24: 'Circa haec tempora mensis madii die vigesimo secundo sanguis de nubibus pluit. Tunc Iohannes Olivolensis ecclesie presul obiit; qui predictam ecclesiam annis gubernaverat [...]; quem Laurentius presbyter ad hanc sedem regendam secutus est'.

<sup>51</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 24: 'Circa haec tempora mensis madii die vigesimo secundo sanguis de nubibus pluit. Tunc Iohannes Olivolensis ecclesie presul obiit; qui predictam ecclesiam annis gubernaverat [...]; quem Laurentius presbyter ad hanc sedem regendam secutus est'.

<sup>52</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 16, p. 22: 'quia Iohannes, Venetiarum dux, per legatos suos Laurentium, episcopum'.

<sup>53</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 4, p. 28: 'qualiter domnus et venerabilis abbas Vitalis nomine sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum Ylarii et Benedicti de partibus Venecie in finibus Rivoaltensibus iuxta flumine Une nobis suos eo modo misit legatos Laurentium, Venecie episcopum'. It is believed that a part of this document was either forged or interpolated at a later

the privileges of the Venetians and confirmed the donations to the monastery of St Hilarius.

### **Iohannes II? (919?)**

Probably in 919, he took part in the *placitum* settling the dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus and the bishop of Torcello.<sup>54</sup>

### **Dominicus II († 930s)**

Dominicus II died shortly after the election of Duke Petrus Candianus II (931).<sup>55</sup>

### **Petrus Tribunus (930s)**

Son of Petrus Tribunus. He succeeded Dominicus II as bishop of Olivolo. He was elected shortly after Petrus Candianus II became duke (931).<sup>56</sup>

### **Ursus II (940s–950s)**

He succeeded Petrus Tribunus as bishop of Olivolo during Duke Petrus Candianus III's rule (942–959).<sup>57</sup>

### **Petrus (960)**

It is not known when he became bishop and for how long he held the Bishopric of Olivolo. He is only mentioned in the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>58</sup>

date. Sopracasa, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto', pp. 132–36.

<sup>54</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 45: 'cum Ioanne, sancte olivolensi ecclesiae episcopo'. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

<sup>55</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 45: 'His namque diebus quidam Olivolensis episcopus, Dominicus nomine, defunctus est; quem successit Petrus Petri Tribuni filius'.

<sup>56</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III, 45: 'His namque diebus quidam Olivolensis episcopus, Dominicus nomine, defunctus est; quem successit Petrus Petri Tribuni filius'.

<sup>57</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 7: 'Eo videlicet tempore mortuo Petro Olivolensi episcopo, qui episcopatum rexit annis [...], Ursus sibi successit'.

<sup>58</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Petrus, indignus episcopus sancte olivolensis ecclesie'.

### **Marinus (971, 982, † c. 996)**

He was probably the *episcopus* Marinus who subscribed the prohibition of trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971<sup>59</sup> and St George monastery's foundation (982).<sup>60</sup> John the Deacon narrates that Marinus died<sup>61</sup> in the period in which Otto III was elected king of Italy and Pope John XV passed away (985–996).<sup>62</sup>

### **Dominicus Gradonicus (c. 996, 1000, 1007/1008)**

John the Deacon narrates that Dominicus was elected bishop and succeeded Marinus<sup>63</sup> in the period in which Otto III was elected king of Italy and Pope John XV passed away († 996).<sup>64</sup> Before the departure of the expedition to Dalmatia, Dominicus gave a banner to Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.<sup>65</sup> Dominicus took part in the meeting in which Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and his son Otto granted the inhabitants of Piove di Sacco some trade exemptions in 1007/1008.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Marinus episcopus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>60</sup> *San Giorgio Maggiore*, II, no. 1, pp. 21–22: 'Ego Marinus, episcopus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>61</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 38: 'Eo quoque tempore apud Rivoaltum mortuo Marino Olivolensi episcopo, qui episcopatus praefuit annis [...], successit sibi Dominicus, cognomine Gradonicus'.

<sup>62</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 39.

<sup>63</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 38: 'Eo quoque tempore apud Rivoaltum mortuo Marino Olivolensi episcopo, qui episcopatus praefuit annis [...], successit sibi Dominicus, cognomine Gradonicus'.

<sup>64</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 39.

<sup>65</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 46: 'Hoc audiens Petrus dux, nulla interposita dilacione, suorum consilio munitus, navalem preparare expeditionem peregit septimoque sui ducatus anno asensionis Domini festo cum suis in sancti Petri Olivolensis ecclesia ad missarum ministeria percipienda convenire voluit. Cui Dominicus eiusdem loci episcopus triumphale vexillum contulit'.

<sup>66</sup> *Codice diplomatico padovano*, no. 82, p. 114: 'residentibus domini duces et Dominico episcopo Rivoaltensi'. Although this charter is not dated, its editor believes that this occurred in 1005. Given that Otto and not Iohannes is mentioned, this probably means that Petrus Ursoylus II's first son was already dead which likely occurred in 1007.

*12b5a. Bishops of Olivolo in Origo (editio prima), p. 46*

Obeliebatus sedit in Olivolensi episcopatu ann. .XXII.

Christoforus sedit in eodem episcopatu ann. .XII.

Cristoforus sedit ann. \*\*\*

Ursus sedit ann. .XXXII.

Maurus sedit ann. .X.

Iohannes sedit ann. .V.

Dominicus sedit ann. .XII.

Grausus sedit ann. \*\*\*

Iohannes sedit ann. .XI., mens. VI.

Laurencius sedit ann. .VI.

Dominicus sedit ann. .I. et mens. .VI.

Petrus, filius Petri ducis Dominici Tribuni, sedit annos .VIII.

Ursus sedit . ann. .XII.

Dominicus sedit ann. .VII.

Petrus sedit ann. .VIII.

Georgius sedit ann. .I., mens. .VI.

Marinus sedit ann. .XX., mens. .II.

Dominicus sedit ann. .XXXIII., mens. II.

Dominicus, filius Iohannis Gradonici, sedit ann. .X.

### 12b6. Bishops of Altino/Torcello

(Some prelates are defined as ‘episcopus’ of Altino, because this title was maintained after the episcopal see was moved from Altino to Torcello).

#### Maurus (639?, 640s)

Not willing to live under Lombard rule, the Bishop of Altino, Maurus, moved his see to Torcello with the assent of Pope Severinus.<sup>67</sup> It has been hypothesized that he consecrated the church of St Maria of Torcello that the *magister militum* Mauricius had built in 639 by order of Exarch Isacius.<sup>68</sup> Maurus ruled as bishop for four years.<sup>69</sup>

#### Paulus ? (680)

It is not clear whether or not Paulus was bishop of Altino/Torcello. John the Deacon does not mention him. Moreover, in the list of the bishops taking part in the synod of Rome of 25 March 680, Paulus is mentioned as the ‘bishop of Altino of the province of Pentapolis’ in the Latin version of the proceedings of that council (‘province of Pentapolis’ is not mentioned in some codices of this source),<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 38: ‘Maurus Altinensis episcopus non ferens Langobardorum insaniam, Severini pape auctoritate ad Torcellensem insulam venit ibique suam sedem corroborare et pro futuro manere decrevit.’

<sup>68</sup> Pertusi, ‘L’iscrizione torcellana dei tempi di Eraclio’, p. 18: ‘[EST ECCL(ESIA) S(ANC)]T(E) MARIE D(E)I GENET(RICIS) EX IV(SSIONE PIO ET / [DEVOTO D(OM)]N(O) N(OSTRO) ISAACIO EXCELL(ENTISSIMO EX(AR)C(HO) PATRICIO ... FABR(ICA)T(A) ES[T] / [A FVUDAM(ENTIS PER B(ENE))] M(ERITUM) M[A] VR[ICIV]M GLOR[I]OSVM MAGISTROMI(LITVM) / [PROV(INCIE) VENET] IAR[VM] RESE[D]EN[T]EM IN HVNC LOCVM SVVM / [CONSECRANTE] S(ANC) T(O) ET [REV(ERENDISSIMO) MAVRO E]PI(S)C(OPO) HVIVS ECCL(ESIE) F(E)L(I) C(I)T(ER)’.

<sup>69</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 38: ‘Qui (Maurus) Altinensem ecclesiam gubernavit annos IIII et mortuus est.’

<sup>70</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, p. 155: ‘Paulus episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Altinensis prouinciae Pentapolim’.

while he has the title ‘bishop of Altino of the province of Istria’<sup>71</sup> in the Greek version of that document.<sup>72</sup>

### **Iulianus (640s–690s)**

Iulianus succeeded Maurus<sup>73</sup> and held his bishopric for forty-eight years.<sup>74</sup>

### **Deusdedi (690s–710s)**

Deusdedi succeeded Iulianus, commissioned the construction of the church of St Maria<sup>75</sup> and died after ruling for twenty years and four months.<sup>76</sup>

### **Honoratus (710s)**

Honoratus succeeded Deusdedi<sup>77</sup> and held the bishopric for seven years.<sup>78</sup>

### **Vitalis (720s)**

He succeeded Honoratus<sup>79</sup> and remained in office for nine years and six months.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>71</sup> In the same list the Patriarch of Grado, Agatho, is said to be from the province of Istria. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, pp. 154–55.

<sup>72</sup> *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, series secunda*, II/1. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 38: ‘Huic (*Maurus*) successit Iulianus episcopus’.

<sup>74</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 51: ‘Circa hec tempora Iulianus Altinensis episcopus mortuus est, qui ecclesiam rexerat annos quadraginta et octo. Huic successit Deusdedi episcopus, qui sancte Dei genitricis ecclesiam devotissime componere variisque marmoribus condecorare perfecerat’.

<sup>75</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, I. 51: ‘Huic (*Iulianus*) successit Deusdedi episcopus, qui sancte Dei genitricis ecclesiam devotissime componere variisque marmoribus condecorare perfecerat’.

<sup>76</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 3: ‘Circa hec tempora Deusdedi Torcellensis episcopus, qui ecclesiam rexerat annos XX et IIII. ex hac luce migravit’.

<sup>77</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 3: ‘cui (*Deusdedi*) successit Honoratus episcopus’.

<sup>78</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 7: ‘Eodem tempore mortuo Honorato episcopo, qui Altinensem ecclesiam rexerat annos VII, Vitalis ad regendam suscepit ecclesiam’.

<sup>79</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 16: ‘Eodem tempore mortuo Honorato episcopo, qui Altinensem ecclesiam rexerat annos VII, Vitalis ad regendam suscepit ecclesiam’.

<sup>80</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 16: ‘Severinus postmodum, vite eius (*Vitalis*) adsecutor, in eadem fuerat dignitate ordinatus’.

**Severinus (720s/730s)**

He was the assistant of Bishop Vitalis whom he succeeded as bishop of Torcello.<sup>81</sup>

**Dominicus (early 830s)**

Dominicus gave up the office of bishop of Torcello and entered a monastery in the early 830s.<sup>82</sup> John the Deacon places this event between the reinstatement of Duke Iohannes II and his second overthrowing (c. 833/834–836).

**Iohannes (early 830s)**

After the resignation of Dominicus in the 830s, Iohannes was elected bishop of Torcello.<sup>83</sup>

**Deusedus (860s)**

Deusedus was killed by two of his servants. John the Deacon narrates that this event occurred after the murder of Duke Petrus (864).<sup>84</sup>

**Senator († 875/876)**

Senator probably died in 875/876 as Iohannes the Deacon places his death immediately after that of Emperor Louis II (875).<sup>85</sup>

**Dominicus (875/876; 877)**

He succeeded Senator as Bishop of Torcello. Before being elected prelate, Dominicus was a monk of St Hilarius, then became abbot of the monastery

<sup>81</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 16: 'His quoque temporibus prelibatus Vitalis, qui Altinensem annis VIII et mensibus VI ecclesiam rexerat, ab hac luce substractus est; Severinus postmodum, vite eius adsecutor, in eadem fuerat dignitate ordinatus'.

<sup>82</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 45: 'Dominicus quidem Torcellensis episcopus, relicto episcopatu, monasterium peciit et in loco eius Iohannes est ordinatus'.

<sup>83</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, II. 45: 'Dominicus quidem Torcellensis episcopus, relicto episcopatu, monasterium peciit et in loco eius Iohannes est ordinatus'.

<sup>84</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 3: 'Eo videlicet tempore Deusedus Torcellensis episcopus a duobus suis servitoribus apud Altinum interfectus, diem finivit ultimum. Quod audiente dux unum ex illis iusta flumen, quod Silis vocatur, alterum vero in Torcellensi lacuna suspendere permisit. Prefuit autem Altinati ecclesiae antedictus episcopus annis [...]'

<sup>85</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: 'Apud Torcellum quidem mortuo Senatore episcopo, qui Altinatis ecclesiam annis [...] gubernavit'.

of Altino (probably St Stephen).<sup>86</sup> John the Deacon narrates that, shortly after becoming bishop, Dominicus went to Spoleto for a while because he castrated himself for unspecified reasons. The Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, clashed with Duke Ursus II, because, against the duke's wishes, he had excommunicated the new bishop of Torcello probably because Dominicus was considered unfit for an ecclesiastical office.<sup>87</sup> However, it seems that there were other motives for the conflict. In a letter, sent to Duke Ursus II in December 876, Pope John VIII makes a reference to the fact that Dominicus was guilty of the crime of ambition.<sup>88</sup> The disagreement became so heated that Petrus abandoned Venice and fled to Rome where he requested the assistance of Pope John VIII.<sup>89</sup> In December 876, the pontiff ordered Dominicus to go to Rome the following February to attend a council about the dispute, emphasizing that it was the third time he summoned him and that he would excommunicate him if Dominicus would not show up.<sup>90</sup> As the conflict continued, Dominicus probably did not go to the pope. The dispute was eventually settled with the agreement that the Patriarch of Grado, Petrus, would not consecrate Dominicus as bishop, but that the latter could reside in the house of the bishop of Torcello and enjoy the properties belonging to the Church of Torcello.<sup>91</sup> Dominicus was

<sup>86</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: 'Apud Torcellum quidem mortuo Senatore episcopo, qui Altinatis ecclesiam annis [...] gubernavit, subrogatus est in ea sede Dominicus abbas Altinatis monasterii, qui olim fuerat monachus Sancti Illarii'. Cf. Pozza, 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani', p. 23.

<sup>87</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 11: 'inde egressus, pro inposito crimine veretro sibi absiso, apud Spoletum postmodum aliquamdiu moratus est. Quem dum contra ducis decretum Petrus egregius patriarcha sub anathematis vinculo coartaret, eiusdem ducis amissa gratia egressus Istriensem peciit provinciam'.

<sup>88</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 7, p. 10: 'ambicionis enim crimine denotatur'.

<sup>89</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 13: 'Domnus vero Petrus patriarcha, relicta Gradensi urbe, Rivoaltum adveniens, apud sancti Iuliani sui patrimonii ecclesiam ospitatus, ibi per integrum annum commoratus est. Tamen perfectam cum duce pacem propter Torcellensem ellectum minime habebat. Tandem patriarcha duci resistere non valens, occulte de Venecia exivit Romamque adire disposuit. Quem domnus papa Iohannes devote suscipiens, integro anno secum morari cum coegit'.

<sup>90</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 9, pp. 13–14.

<sup>91</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 20: 'Petrum vero patriarcham Papię reliquit. Qui ibi aliquantis diebus manens, dehinc Tarvisium veniens, a Landoni ipsius civitatis episcopo dignissima veneratione susceptus est. Ubi cum legatis inter ipsum et predictum ducem euntibus tandem pax pristina consolidata esset, isdem egregius pontifex Veneciam repedavit et duce interpellante aliquantis diebus in palacio mansit, ea vero ratione ut Dominicus presbyter Torcellensis ecclesię

consecrated bishop of Torcello by the Patriarch of Grado, Victor II, successor of Petrus. John the Deacon emphasizes that the duke of Venice forced the patriarch to do so.<sup>92</sup>

### **Gyslibertus/Jngelbertus (900)**

Following the destructions that the Hungarians wrought at the monastery of St Stephen of Altino, in 900, with the consent of the Bishop of Torcello, Gyslibertus, who is also mentioned with the name Jngelbertus, Duke Petrus Tribunus granted that monastery exemption from paying tributes to the presul of Torcello.<sup>93</sup>

### **Petrus? (919?)**

Probably in 919, Petrus took part in the placitum settling the dispute between his bishopric and the abbot of the monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus.<sup>94</sup>

### **Johannes (960)**

Johannes subscribed the slave trade prohibition issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 960.<sup>95</sup>

electus, pro quo inter eos discordia fuerat, diebus Petri patriarchę episcopali consecratione careret, in episcopii tamen domo manens, fruendi rebus ipsius ecclesię licenciam haberet. Qui post paucos dies cum gratiam apud conductum pontificem repperiret, eum in Torcellensi ecclesia ad convivium invitavit.

<sup>92</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, III. 23: 'Tunc Victor electus patriarcha octavo kalendas februarii consecratus est. Qui etiam Dominicum Torcellensem electum, contra voluntatem consecravit, quoniam in suae electionis die sacramento a principe constrictus est, ut qualem ipse illi electum dirigeret, talem ille consecraret. Dixit tamen sibi patriarcha: "Ve tibi! quia temere ad hunc accedis honorem". An nescis ubi dicitur: "Si quis semetipsum abscederit, deiciatur a clero?". Et ut coacte me hoc facere credas, in die iudicii pro hoc honore, nisi peniteas, rationem reddas, quia tibi ipse verendam amputare minime pepercisti'.

<sup>93</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, pp. 35, 36: 'cum consensu Gysliberti, torcellensis episcopo ... Ego Jngelbertus, episcopus sancte altinatis ecclesie, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>94</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 31, p. 45: 'Petrus, sanctae altinatis ecclesiae presul'. Marco Pozza has recently hypothesized that this document was forged at a later date. Pozza, 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', pp. 503–12.

<sup>95</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 41, p. 72: 'Ego Johannes, torcellensis ecclesie episcopus'.

### Valerius (988–1008)

Valerius also had jurisdiction over the island of Murano, as in February 999 the cleric Michael Monetarius said that Valerius appointed him as *plebanus* of St Maria of Murano.<sup>96</sup> Valerius is mentioned in a donation dated probably to either 1001 or 1005<sup>97</sup> in which, following his father-in-law Petrus Falletrus's last wishes, Iohannes Stornadus donated three wheels of the mill 'de Folenicus', the *pantanus* where the latter was located, and some estates in 'Litus Bovensis', 'Rivo da Nassa', 'Luvinio', and 'Septe Salaria' to the bishopric of Torcello for the soul of Petrus Falletrus.<sup>98</sup> Valerius died in 1008 after holding the bishopric of Torcello for twenty years.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 87, p. 178: 'promitto ego quidem Michaelae clerico, filius quondam Michaeli Monetario, futurus plebanus basilice sancte Marie plebis murianensis, vobis domino Valerio, sanctissimo episcopo, seniori nostro, et vestris successoribus, ut ipsa plebe, que michi dignatus fuistis concedere ... fidelis esse debeam ad sanctam catholicam matrem altinatem ecclesiam'.

<sup>97</sup> *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem Redeptoris nostri millesimo primo, imperantibus dominis nostris Basilio et Constantino fratribus filiis Romano magnis et pacificis imperatoribus anno autem imperii eorum post obitum Iohannis Cimiski vigesimo nono, mense marcio, indicione quartadecima, Torcelli'. The date expressed according to the reigning year of the incarnation of Jesus (1001) does not match the date indicated according to the reigning year of the Byzantine emperors; twenty-ninth year of rule of Basil II and Constantine VIII after the death of John Tzimishes († 976).

<sup>98</sup> Information mentioned in a document written in 1301. *Codex Publicorum*, II, no. 43, p. 299: 'Quapropter ego quidem Iohannes Stornado qui fui fideconmissarius Petro Falletro socero meo cum meis heredibus ab hodierna die ob divino amore et remedio anime predicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro seu et pro parentorum eius anime indulgencie a presenti die damus, donamus atque offerimus in episcopatu sancte genitricis Dei et virginis Marie sede sancte Altinatis ecclesie seu et vobis domino Valerio venerabili episcopo et a vestris successoribus de ipso aquimolo de Folenicus rodas tres macenante cum suo pantano qui fuit imadicto Petro Falletro socero et comisso nostro que ille largivit per suam cartam testamenti in iamdicto Dei episcopatu et ipsas terrenas de Litus Bovensis cum auellatione et piscatione sua qui dicitur ipsas terrenas Rivo da Nassa seu toto Luvinio cum auellatione et piscatione sua atque damus et offerimus similiter ipsas terrenas de Septe Salaria qui fuit Vitalis Senatori cum auellatione et piscatione sua omnia ex omnibus sicut ab auctoribus et proauctoribus et a prefato Petro comisso nostro possessum fuit'.

<sup>99</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV, 78: 'Anno igitur incarnationis Ihesu Christi domini nostri millesimo octavo Valerio Altinatis ecclesie presule mortuo, qui episcopii cathedram rexit annis viginti, quindecim diebus tantummodo minus, Ursus predictus domni Petri ducis filius, clero et populo consulente, in eadem subrogatus est sede'.

### **Ursus Ursoylus (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh)**

Second son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. Ursus succeeded Valerius as bishop of Altino in 1008; on that period he was holding the office of *clericus* and was still an adolescent.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Secundus nominatur Ursus; iste sic officium gerens clericatus quo haud inmerito queat dici clericorum decus'. *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 78: 'Anno igitur incarnationis Ihesu Christi domini nostri millesimo octavo Valerio Altinatis ecclesie presule mortuo, qui episcopii cathedram rexit annis viginti, quindecim diebus tantummodo minus, Ursus predictus domni Petri ducis filius, clero et populo consulente, in eadem subrogatus est sede. Huius adulentis mores meo famine perstringere volo. Erat nempe fide religiosus, specie decorus, ingenio providus, industria litterarum ita peritus ut tanti honoris a cunctis dignus diceretur'.

**12b6a. Bishops of Torcello in Origo (editio prima), pp. 36–41**

Maurus primus episcopus Torcellensis sedit ann. .VII.

Iulianus sedit ann. .XLVIII.

Deusdedit sedit ann. .XXIII.

Honoratus sedit ann. .VII.

Vitalis sedit ann. .VIII., mens. .VI.

Severinus sedit ann. .II., mens. .VI.

Dominicus sedit ann. .I.

Iohannes sedit ann. .VI.

Maximus sedit ann. .III.

Iustus, filius Angeli Particiaci, sedit ann. .VII., mens. .VI.

Anselmus sedit ann. .XII.

Deusdedit sedit ann. .VI., mens. .VII.

Senator sedit ann. .VI., mens. .III.

Dominicus sedit ann. .XXXVII.

Benenatus sedit menses .VIII.

Iohannes sedit ann. .VI.

Giselbertus, filius Kalemannus, sedit ann. .XVII.

Dominicus sedit ann. .XVI.

Petrus sedit ann. .XII.

Dominicus, filius Petri ducis Candiano, sedit ann. .XIII.

Mineus sedit ann. .I., sed evulsi sunt oculi eius a Petro duce, filio Petri olim ducis Candiani.

Iohannes sedit ann. .XXX.

Valerius sedit ann. .XX.

Ursus, filius domini Petri ducis Ursyuli, sedit ann. .III.

## 12b7. Unknown Bishoprics

### Cyprianus (900)

The only mention of Cyprianus is in the *privilegium* in favour of the monastery of St Stephen (Altino) issued by Duke Petrus Tribunus in 900.<sup>101</sup>

### Dominicus (982)

He is among the signatories of St George monastery foundation in 982.<sup>102</sup>

### Felis (ninth century)

Felis is mentioned in an inscription on a sarcophagus found in Civitas Nova-Heracliana.<sup>103</sup>

### Iohannes (982)

He is among the signatories of St George monastery foundation in 982.<sup>104</sup>

### Marinus (971, 982)

The only mentions of Marinus are in the prohibition of trade with the Saracens issued by Duke Petrus Candianus IV in 971<sup>105</sup> and in St George monastery foundation in 982.<sup>106</sup> As he signed only saying *episcopus*, one cannot determine what his bishopric was. He could have been the bishop of Olivolo.

<sup>101</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 25, p. 36: 'Ego Cyprianus, episcopus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>102</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 61, p. 117: '† Ego Dominicus, gratia Dei episcopus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>103</sup> Location: Torcello. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, I, no. 8: 'HIC REVIESCIT FELIS I EPISCOPUS'. Wladimiro Dorigo has rejected the hypothesis that Felis was a bishop of Metamauco. Dorigo, *Venezie sepolte nella terra del Piave*, p. 160, n. 2.

<sup>104</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 61, p. 117: '† Ego Iohannes, episcopus, manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>105</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 49, p. 88: 'Ego Marinus episcopus manu mea subscripsi'.

<sup>106</sup> *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia*, II, no. 61, p. 117: '† Ego Marinus, episcopus, manu mea subscripsi'.

*12c. Plebani*

Christoforus II (806, 819)

*Presbyter; plebanus* of St Moysis; *episcopus* of Olivolo.

Natalis (991/1008)

*12d. Sacerdotes*

Mauricius (ref 824)

*Sacerdos?*

*12e. Presbiteri*

Barbanus, Dominicus (982)

Barbarus, Iohannes (982)

Boysus (ref 829)

Busianicus (ref 991/1008)

Caisolus, Ioannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Deusdedi (829)

*Presbiter et monachus*

Deusdedit (829)

Dominicus (829)

Dominicus (880)

*Presbiter; cancellarius*

Dominicus (891)

*Presbiter et capellanus* of Duke Petrus Tribunus

Dominicus (960)

*Presbiter; cancellarius*

Dominicus († 980)

Dominicus (982)

Dominicus (1002)

Emerius (579)

*Presbiter provincialis*

Fundacinus, Martinus (982)

Georgius (826)

Gregorius (959)

Iohannes (874)

Iohannes (982)

*Presbiter et primicerius aecclēsie Beati Marci Evangeliste*

Joannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Iustus (825/826)

Iustus (829)

Justus (ref 991/1008)

Laurentius (579)

*Presbiter provincialis.*

Laurentius  
*Presbyter; Episcopus* of Olivolo.

Lumanus (ref 991/1008)  
*Presbiter*

Magnus (770/ 772)  
*Presbiter et scriniarius* of the patriarch of Grado.

Marinus (579)  
*Presbiter provincialis*

Martinus (982)  
*Presbiter et gramaticus*

Petrus (819)  
 He states to be a 'presbiter serviens monasterii beati Georgii'.<sup>107</sup>

Petrus (ref 979/991)  
*Presbiter* 'de Sancto Iacobo'

Petrus (995)

Raphael (900)  
*Presbiter et notarius*

Staniarius, Johannes (995)

Tanolicus, Dominicus (982)

Tiberius (821)

<sup>107</sup> *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, no. 1, pp. 10–11: '† Petrus peccator presbiter serviens Monasterii beati Georgii in hac privilegii carta manu mea subscripsi'. It has been hypothesized that the 'monasterium beati Georgii' could be either 'San Giorgio di Pineto' or a chapel located where the monastery of St George was founded in 982. Pozza, 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani', pp. 21–22.

Vitalis (982)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (983)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (991)

*Presbiter et notarius*

### *12f. Arcidiaconi*

Dominicus (910s, 925)

*Arcidiaconus* of Metamauco; bishop of Metamauco

Iohannes (864)

*Arcidiaconus* of Grado

Laurentius (876)

*Archidiaconus* of Grado

Laurentius (876)

*Archidiaconus* of Grado; probably uncle of the deacon of Grado Laurentius

Vitalianus? (853)

*Presbiter. Archidiaconus*

*12g. Diaconi*

Constantinus (853)

*Diaconus; scriba*

Dominicus? (919?)

*Diaconus, cancellarius, tabellio*

Dominicus (982)

Dominicus (1001 or 1005)

*Diaconus, notarius*

Gatilesus?, Petrus (982)

Gazeus (571/579)

Georgius (959)

Iohannes (967)

Iohannes (995)

*Diaconus; cappellanus* of Petrus Ursoylus II

Iohannes (996)

Iohannes (1000, 1002)

*Diaconus; capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II

Joannes (991/1008)

Laurentius<sup>1</sup> (571/579)

Laurentius<sup>2</sup> (571/579)

Laurentius (876)

Marinus (971)

*Diaconus et notarius*

Marinus (992)

Petrus (804)

Petrus (870s)

*Diaconus. Patriarcha*

Petrus (998)

*Diaconus; capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II

Petrus (991/1008)

Petrus (900/1094)

*Diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palatii*

Tiberius (825/826)

*Diaconus et vicedomnus*

Venerius (ref 824)

### *12h. Subdiaconi*

Petrus (908)

*Subdiaconus et notarius*

### *12i Clerici*

Iohannes (1008)

*Clericus*

*12l. Capellani*

Dominicus (891)

*Presbiter et capellanus* of Duke Petrus Tribunus.

Iohannes (1000, 1002)

*Diaconus; capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.

Petrus (998)

*Diaconus; capellanus* of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II.

*12m. Ecclesiastical notaries*

Caisolus, Ioannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Dominicus (1001 or 1005)

*Diaconus, notarius*

Joannes (998)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Marinus (971)

*Diaconus et notarius*

Petrus (908)

*Subdiaconus et notarius*

Petrus (900/1094)

*Diaconus et notarius capelle curtis palatii*

Raphael (900)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (982)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (983)

*Presbiter et notarius*

Vitalis (991)

*Presbiter et notarius*

### *12n. Unspecified ecclesiastical office*

Vitalis Ursoylus (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

Fourth son of Duke Petrus Ursoylus II and Maria. John the Deacon narrates that Vitalis became an ecclesiastic.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Istoria Veneticorum*, IV. 77: 'Quartus nominatur Vitalis; hic ingenii strenuitate ecclesiasticam adeptus est sortem.'

*120. Abbots****1201. Monastery of St Hilarius and St Benedict***

Iohannes (810s–820s)

*Abbas* of St Servolus/Hilarius; patriarch of Grado

Deusdedit? (839)

Vitalis? (883)

Petrus (981)

Vuillelmus (1008)

***1202. Monastery of St Michael Archangel***

Dominicus (800)

Paulus (954)

Landus (before 991)

Leo; successor of Landus (991)

Scarabaucus (998)

***1203. Monastery of St Servolus***

Iohannes (810s–820s)

Abbot of St Servolus/Hilarius; patriarch of Grado

***1204. Monastery of St Stephanus (Altino)***

Dominicus (870s)

Monk of St Hilarius; abbot of the monastery of Altino (probably the monastery of St Stephanus); bishop of Torcello

Joanici (900)

***12o5. Monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus***

(At the beginning of the tenth century the monks of St Stephanus moved to the Monastery of St Felix, St Fortunatus, St Cosma, and St Damianus on the island of Ammiana).<sup>109</sup>

Marinus? (919?)

***12p. Monks***

Deusdedi (829)

*Presbiter et monachus*

Dominicus (early 830s)

Bishop of Torcello; *monachus*. See the appendix 'Bishops of Altino/Torcello'

Dominicus (870s)

Monk of St Hilarius; abbot of the monastery of Altino; bishop of Torcello

Maurocenus, Petrus (981)

Maurecenus (Maureceni), Iohannes (982)

Mauricinus, Petrus (983)

Philippus (after 829/tenth century)

<sup>109</sup> Pozza, 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani nei secoli VIII–XII', pp. 23–24.

*12q. Abbesses****12q1. Monastery of St Zacharias***

Iohannia (second half of ninth century)

Iohannia (963)

Petronia (997, 998)

***12q2. Monastery of St Laurentius***

Petronia (end of the tenth century/beginning of the eleventh century)

*12r. Nuns*

Agatha (ref 829)

*Dei ancilla*

Agatha (ref 829)

*Christi famula*

Candianus, Iohania (960s)

cata Betegani, Romana (ref 829)

*Dei ancilla*

Costancia (eighth century/beginning of the ninth century)

*Domini ancilla*

Gradonicus, Trionessa (end of the tenth century/beginning of the  
eleventh century)

*Monacha* of the monastery of St Laurentius

Iohannia (ref 829)

*Dei ancilla*

Maria (ref 829)

*Christi famula*

Romana (853)

*Dei ancilla*

Steffana (ref 829)

*Christi famula*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Primary Sources*

- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda*, I: *Concilium Lateranense a 649 celebratum*, ed. by Rudolf Riedinger (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984)
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda*, II/1: *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, concilii actiones I–XI*, ed. by Rudolf Riedinger (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990)
- Agazzi, Michela, 'Sarcofagi altomedievali nel territorio del dogado veneziano', in *Medioevo: Immagini e ideologie, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 23–27 Settembre 2002*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, I Convegni di Parma, 5 (Milano: Electa, 2005), pp. 574–75
- Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, VII (Hannover: Hahn, 1891)
- Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, VI (Hannover: Hahn, 1895)
- Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, ed. by Fritz Weigle, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Deutschen Geschichtsquellen des Mittelalters 500–1500*, I (Weimar: Böhlau, 1949)
- Caillet, Jean-Pierre, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges: d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1993)
- Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum sectio II* (Hannover: Hahn, 1897)
- Catalogo dei dogi*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. by Giovanni Battista Monticolo, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1890), pp. 177–78
- Cedrenus, Georgius, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. by Immanuel Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 2 vols (Bonn: Weber, 1838, 1839)

- Chioggia medievale: Documenti dal secolo XI al XV*, ed. by Sergio Perini, 3 vols (Sottomarina, Venezia: Il Leggio libreria editrice, 2006)
- Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols (Venezia: Giuseppe Orlandelli editore, 1824–1853)
- Codex Publicorum (Codice del Piovego)*, ed. by Bianca Lanfranchi Strina, 2 vols (Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1983, 2006)
- Codice diplomatico istriano (50–1194)*, I, ed. by Pietro Kandler (Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1862)
- Codice diplomatico padovano dal sec. VI a tutto l'XI*, ed. by Andrea Gloria (Venezia: Deputazione veneta di storia patria, 1877)
- Concilia*, vol. II, part 2, edited by Albert Werminghoff, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1908)
- Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. by Giovanni Battista Monticolo, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1890), pp. 7–16
- Damiani, Peter, *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. by Giovanni Tabacco, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 94 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957)
- Dandulus, Andreas, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. by Ester Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Series secunda*, XII (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938–1958)
- De miraculis et virtutibus S. Marci evangelistae*, in *Reichenauer Hagiographie zwischen Walahfrid und Berno*, ed. by Theodor Klüppel (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 146–51
- Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. by Fernand Cabrol and others, 30 vols (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953), VI: 2 (1925), col. 1450
- Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, ed. by Roberto Cessi, 2 vols (Padova: Gregoriana Editrice, 1942–1943)
- Dorigo, Wladimiro, 'Bolle plumbee bizantine nella Venezia esarcale', in *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, 2 vols (Ravenna: Mario Lapucci-Edizioni del Girasole, 1989), I, 223–35
- Einhard, *Translatio et miracula Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, ed. by Georg Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, XV (Hannover: Hahn, 1887), pp. 238–64
- Feissel, Denis, 'Inscriptions grecques en Vénétie', *Aquileia Nostra*, 49 (1978), cols 155–70
- Forlati Tamaro, Bruna, 'Un cimelio di Lison di Portogruaro', *Aquileia Nostra*, 48 (1978), cols 161–88
- Gregory I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartmann, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, I–II, 2nd edn (Berlin: Weidmann, 1957)
- Heinricis II et Arduini diplomata, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, III (Hannover: Hahn, 1900–1903)
- Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae: Pars prior inscriptiones regionis Italiae decimae comprehendens*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, V, 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1872)
- Italia Pontificia*, VII: *Venetiae et Histria*, Pars II, *Respublica Venetiarum — Provincia Gradensis — Histria*, ed. by Paul Friedrich Kehr (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925)

- John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum*, ed. by Luigi Andrea Bertò, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo: Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia medievale, Storici italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento ad uso delle scuole, 2 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1999)
- John VIII, *Registrum*, ed. by Erich Caspar, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae selectae*, VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912–1928), pp. 1–272
- Lazzarini, Vittorio, 'Un privilegio del doge Pietro Tribuno per la badia di S. Stefano d'Altino', in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica*, ed. by Vittorio Lazzarini, 2nd edn (Padova: Antenore, 1969), pp. 133–49
- The Letters of Gregory the Great*, trans. with introduction and notes by John R. C. Martin, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation*, 40, 3 vols (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004)
- Liber de Sancti Hildulfi successoribus in Mediano monasterio*, ed. by Georg Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, IV (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 86–92
- Liber pontificalis*, ed. by Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886, 1892)
- Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, in Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 156 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 187–218
- Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum (Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense)*, ed. by Roberto Cessi, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 73 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1933)
- Ortalli, Gherardo, 'Pietro II Orseolo Dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum', in *Venezia e la Dalmazia: Anno Mille, Secoli di vicende comuni*, ed. by Nedo Florentin (Treviso: Canova, 2002), p. 26
- I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia: 880–1255*, ed. by Reinhard Härtel and Ursula Kohl, *Pacta Veneta*, 12 (Roma: Viella, 2005)
- Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by L. Bethmann and Georg Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 12–187
- Pertusi, Agostino, 'L'iscrizione torcellana dei tempi di Eracleo', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano*, 4 (1962), pp. 9–38
- Petri ducis Venetiarum epistula*, in *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris: Beiträge zur Geschichte Italiens im Anfänge des zehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Halle: Waisenhauss, 1871), pp. 157–58
- Polacco, Renato, *Marmi e mosaici paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo archeologico di Venezia* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1980)
- , 'Restauro e recuperi alla Galleria Franchetti presso la Ca' d'Oro di Venezia', *Venezia arti: Bollettino del dipartimento di Storia e Critica delle arti dell'Università di Venezia*, 8 (1994), pp. 140–44
- Rugo, Pietro, *Le iscrizioni dei sec VI, VII, VIII esistenti in Italia*, II: *Venezia e Istria* (Cittadella: Bertinello artigrafiche, 1975)
- S. Giorgio Maggiore, II: *Documenti: 982–1159*, ed. by Luigi Lanfranchi (Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1968)

- S. Lorenzo (853–1199)*, ed. by Franco Gaeta (Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1959)
- Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, ed. by Luigi Lanfranchi and Bianca Strina (Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1965)
- Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, II: *Documenti: 800–1199*, ed. by Bianca Lanfranchi Strina (Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1981)
- Stephen V, *Fragmenta Registri*, ed. by Erich Caspar, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912–1928), pp. 334–53
- Sartori, Franco, 'Antoninus tribunus in una epigrafe inedita di Iesolo (Venezia)', in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua: Miscellanea G. Novak dicata* (Zagreb: Sveuciliste — Arheoloski institut Filozofskog fakulteta, 1970), pp. 587–600
- Translatio Marci Evangelistae Venetias [BHL 5283–5284]*, in Emanuela Colombi, *Storie di cronache e reliquie nella 'Venetia' altomedievale*, Antichità Altoadriatiche, Monografie, 6 (Trieste: Editreg, 2012), pp. 47–63
- I trattati con Bisanzio 992–1198*, ed. by Marco Pozza and Giorgio Ravegnani, *Pacta Veneta*, 4 (Venezia: Il Cardo, 1993)
- Vecchi, Maurizia, *Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1995)
- Vita b. Petri Urseoli ducis Venetiarum et Dalmatiarum*, in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Seculum v (900–1000)*, ed. by Lucas D'Achéry and others (Paris: Apud viduam Edmundi Martin, Johannem Boudot, et in via Jacobea ad Solem aureum, 1685), pp. 887–88

## Secondary Studies

- Beech, George, 'Prosopography', in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. by James M. Powell, 2nd edn (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), pp. 185–226
- Berto, Luigi Andrea, 'Giovanni Diacono, storico e diplomatico veneziano', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, LVI (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001), pp. 8–10
- , 'Note e proposte per uno studio prosopografico della Venezia altomedievale', *Studi Veneziani*, 59 (2010), 73–88
- , *The Political and Social Vocabulary of John the Deacon's 'Istoria Veneticorum'*, *Cursor Mundi*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)
- Bognetti, Gian Piero, 'Natura, politica e religioni nelle origini di Venezia', in *L'età longobarda*, ed. by Gian Piero Bognetti, 4 vols (Milano: Giuffrè, 1968), IV, 499–524
- Borgolte, Michael, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986)
- Brown, Thomas S., *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A. D. 554–800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984)
- Bulst, Neithard, 'Zum Gegenstand und zur Methode von Prosopographie', in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. by Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genêt (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 1–16

- Cammarosano, Paolo, *Nobili e re: L'Italia politica dell'alto medioevo* (Roma: Laterza, 1998)
- Capasso, Riccardo, 'Vitale Candiano (patriarca)', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xvii (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), pp. 771–73
- Carile, Antonio, 'La formazione del ducato veneziano', in Antonio Carile and Giorgio Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia* (Bologna: Patron, 1978), pp. 11–237
- , 'Venezia e Bisanzio', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2011), pp. 629–87
- Castagnetti, Andrea, 'Famiglie e affermazione politica', in *Storia di Venezia*, I: *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. by Lelia Cracco-Ruggini and others (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 613–44
- , 'Insediamenti e "popoli"', in *Storia di Venezia*, I: *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. by Lelia Cracco-Ruggini and others (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 577–612
- , *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, I: *Dai tribuni ai giudici* (Verona: Libreria universitaria editrice, 1992)
- , *La società veneziana nel Medioevo*, II: *Le famiglie ducali dei Candiano, Orseolo e Menio e la famiglia comitale vicentino-padovana di Vitale Ugo Candiano (secoli X–XI)* (Verona: Libreria universitaria editrice, 1993)
- Cessi, Roberto, 'Un falso diploma di Lotario (839) ed il delta di S. Ilario', *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova*, n.s., 37 (1921), 133–47
- , "'Paulicius Dux'", in Roberto Cessi, *Le origini del ducato veneziano* (Napoli: Morano, 1951), pp. 155–73
- , 'Studi sulla composizione del cosiddetto "Chronicon altinate"', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 49 (1933), 1–116
- , *Venezia ducale*, I: *Duca e popolo* (Venezia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezia, 1963)
- Conte, Pietro, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII: Con appendice critica* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1971)
- Cosentino, Salvatore, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina (493–804)*, 2 vols (Bologna: Editrice Lo Scarabeo, 1996, 2000)
- , *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo): Da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008)
- Cracco, Giorgio, 'I testi agiografici: religione e politica nella Venezia del Mille', in *Storia di Venezia*, I: *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. by Lelia Cracco-Ruggini and others (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 923–61
- Delogu, Paolo, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: *c. 700–c. 900*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 290–319
- Dennig Zettler, Regina, and Alfons Zettler, 'La traslazione di san Marco a Venezia e a Reichenau', in *San Marco, aspetti storici e agiografici: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. by Antonio Niero (Venezia: Marsilio, 1996), pp. 689–709
- Depreux, Philippe, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997)
- Dorigo, Wladimiro, *Venezia: Origini: Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi* (Milano: Electa, 1983)

- , *Venezia romanica: La formazione della città medievale fino all'età gotica* (Venezia and Sommacampagna (Verona): Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti and Cierre, 2003)
- , *Venezie sepolte nella terra del Piave: duemila anni fra il dolce e il salso* (Roma: Viella, 1994)
- Fasoli, Gina, 'I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana', in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI: Aspetti e problemi*, ed. by Agostino Pertusi (Firenze: Sansoni 1970), pp. 11–44
- Fedalto, Giorgio, *Aquileia: Una Chiesa due patriarcati* (Roma: Città Nuova, 1999)
- Ferluga, Jadran, 'L'organizzazione militare dell'esarcato', in *Storia di Ravenna*, II, 1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana: Territorio, economia e società*, ed. by Antonio Carile (Venezia: Marsilio, 1991), pp. 379–87
- Folena, Gianfranco, 'Gli antichi nomi di persona e la storia civile di Venezia', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 129 (1970–1971), 445–79
- Garcia Moreno, Luis A., *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1974)
- Gasparri, Stefano, 'Anno 713: La leggenda di Paulicio e le origini di Venezia', in *Venezia: I giorni della Storia*, ed. by Uwe Israel (Roma: Viella, 2011), pp. 26–45
- , 'The Aristocracy', in *Italy in the Early Middle Ages: 476–1000*, ed. by Cristina La Rocca (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 59–84
- , 'Venezia fra i secoli VIII e IX. Una riflessione sulle fonti', in *Studi Veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi* (Venezia: Il Cardo, 1992), pp. 3–18
- Gelichi, Sauro, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città', *Reti Medievali Rivista* 11/2 (2010), 1–31 <<http://www.rivista.retimedievali.it>> [accessed 21 October 2013]
- , 'The Eels of Venice: The Long Eighth Century of the Emporia of the North-Eastern Adriatic Coast', in *774: Ipotesi su una transizione*, ed. by Stefano Gasparri, Seminari internazionali del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto Medioevo, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 81–117
- Hlawitschka, Eduard, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern, und Burgunden in Oberitalien (774–962): Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien* (Freiburg im Breisgau: E. Albert, 1960)
- Jarnut, Jörg, *Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Langobardenreich in Italien (568–774)* (Bonn: Rohrscheid, 1972)
- Jones, H. M., and others, eds, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992)
- Keats-Rohan, Katharine S. B., ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007)
- Lanfranchi, Luigi-Zille, and Gian Giacomo Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dall'VIII al XII secolo', in *Storia di Venezia*, II: *Dalle origini del ducato alla iv crociata* (Venezia: Centro internazionale delle arti e del costume, 1958), pp. 3–65

- Lilie, Ralph-Johannes and others, eds, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, 7 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998–2001)
- Ludwig, Claudia, 'Who is Who in the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*? Problems of Identification in the Middle Byzantine Period', in *Prosopography, Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 241–51
- McCormick, Michael, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Martindale, John Robert, *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire: I: 641–867*, CD-ROM (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)
- Monticolo, Giovanni Battista, 'L'arte dei fioleri a Venezia nel sec. XIII e nel principio del XIV e i suoi più antichi statuti', in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, I (1891), 137–99, 317–50
- Murray, Alan V., 'Prosopography', in *Palgrave Advances in Crusades*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 109–29
- Ortalli, Gherardo, 'I cronisti e la determinazione di Venezia città', in *Storia di Venezia*, II: *L'età del comune*, ed. by Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), pp. 761–82
- , 'Il ducato e la "civitas Rivoalti": tra carolingi, bizantini e sassoni', in *Storia di Venezia*, I: *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. by Lelia Cracco-Ruggini and others (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 725–90
- , *Petrus I. Orseolo und seine Zeit: Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Venedig und dem ottonischen Reich*, trans. by Monika Pelz and Bernd Roeck (Venezia: Thorbecke, 1990)
- , 'Quando il doge diventa santo: Fede e politica nell'esperienza di Pietro I Orseolo', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 41 (2001), 15–48
- , 'Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II Orseolo', in Paolo Delogu, André Guillou, and Gherardo Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini: Storia d'Italia*, I (Turin: UTET, 1980), pp. 339–428
- Pavan, Massimiliano, and Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Le origini dell'identità lagunare', in *Storia di Venezia*, I: *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. by Lelia Cracco-Ruggini and others (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), pp. 409–56
- Pertusi, Agostino, 'Cultura bizantina a Venezia', in *Storia della cultura veneta: Dalle origini al Trecento*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1976), pp. 326–49
- Pietri, Charles, and Luce Pietri, eds, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, 2: Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne 313–604*, 2 vols (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1999–2000)
- Pozza, Marco, *I Badoer: Una famiglia veneziana dal X al XIII secolo* (Abano Terme: Francisci, 1982)
- , 'Un falso placito per il monastero dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (935 febbraio)', in *In uno volumine: Studi in onore di Cesare Scalton*, ed. by Laura Pani (Udine: Forum, 2009), pp. 503–12

- , 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani nei secoli VIII–XII', in *Il monachesimo nel Veneto medioevale*, ed. by Francesco Giovanni B. Trolese (Cesena: Badia di santa Maria del Monte, 1998), pp. 17–38
- , 'Il testamento del vescovo Orso (853 febbraio): un documento genuino o falsificato?', in *Historiae: Scritti per Gherardo Ortalli*, ed. by Claudio Azzara and others (Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2013), pp. 49–59
- , 'Vitale-Ugo Candiano: Alle origini di una famiglia comitale del Regno italico', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 5 (1981), 15–32
- Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* <<http://www.pase.ac.uk>> [accessed 31 October 2013]
- Rando, Daniela, *Una Chiesa di frontiera: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI–XII* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994)
- , 'Fortunato', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, II (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), pp. 235–39
- Ravegnani, Giorgio, *Bisanzio e Venezia* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2006)
- Renardy, Christine, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège: Répertoire biographique, 1140–1350* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981)
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Rösch, Gerard, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schließung des Großen Rats* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989)
- Sergi, Giuseppe, 'The Kingdom of Italy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: III: c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 346–71
- Serra, Giandomenico, 'Antichi nomi e cognomi napoletani, veneziani e sardi d'origine o modulo greco-bizantino', *Filologia romanza*, 3 (1956), 337–41
- Skinner, Patricia, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Sopracasa, Alessio, 'Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto (secc. IX–XIV)', *Storia di Venezia — Rivista*, II (2004), 127–46
- Tinti, Francesca, 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: Facts and Factoids', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 197–209
- Tolra de Bordas, Henri, *St Pierre Orséolo, Doge de Venise, puis Bénédictin du Monastère de Saint-Michel de Cuxa en Roussillon (Conflent): Sa vie et son temps (928–987)* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1897)
- Tomasin, Lorenzo, 'Note di antroponimia veneziana medievale (con un testo inedito del primo Trecento)', *Studi linguistici italiani*, 26 (2000), 130–48
- Tomaz, Luigi, *In Adriatico nell'Antichità e nell'Alto Medioevo: Da Dionigi di Siracusa ai dogi Orseolo* (Conselve: Edizioni Think, 2003)
- Tomea, Paolo, 'L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130)', in *Hagiographies*, ed. by Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), III, pp. 99–178

- Werner, Karl Ferdinand, 'L'apport de la prosopographie à l'histoire sociale des élites', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 1–21
- Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)



## STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

### **Titles in Series**

*Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (2000)

*On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Gillett (2002)

Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002)

*Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic*, ed. by James H. Barrett (2003)

*Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt (2003)

*Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. by P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (2003)

*Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (2004)

*Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Florin Curta (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts* (2006)

*Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (2006)

*Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (2006)

*People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Heroic Poems and the Social Life of Texts* (2007)

*The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt (2007)

*Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Eamonn O Carragain*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (2007)

*The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (2007)

James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900* (2009)

*Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Patricia Skinner (2009)

Peter Verbist, *Duelling with the Past: Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era, c. 990–1135* (2010)

*Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. by Alice Jorgensen (2010)

*England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. by David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams (2010)

*Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner (2011)

*Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c. 800–c. 1250*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler (2011)

*Neglected Barbarians*, ed. by Florin Curta (2011)

*The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane*, ed. by Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles (2012)

Giselle de Nie, *Poetics of Wonder: Testimonies of the New Christian Miracles in the Late Antique Latin World* (2012)

Lilla Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture* (2012)

R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD, vol. I: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (2013)

*Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Space and Time*, ed. by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (2013)

Christine Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (2013)

*Landscapes of Defence in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by John Baker, Stuart Brookes, and Andrew Reynolds (2013)

Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *The Lexical Effects of Anglo-Scandinavian Linguistic Contact on Old English* (2013)

*Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911–1300*, ed. by Leonie V. Hicks and Elma Brenner (2013)

Shane McLeod, *The Beginning of Scandinavian Settlement in England: The Viking 'Great Army' and Early Settlers, c. 865–900* (2014)

*England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (2014)

## **In Preparation**

Clare Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy: More to Life than Leeches*

